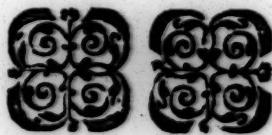


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REFLECTIONS On the CAUSES of the GRANDEUR AND DECLEMISION OF THE *R O M A N S.*

By the AUTHOR of the PERSIAN LETTERS.
Translated from the FRENCH.



D U B L I N:

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REFLEC-

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CHAPTER I.

1. *The Infancy of Rome.* 2. *The Wars it sustain'd.*

WE must not form to ourselves an Idea of the City of *Rome*, in its Infancy, from the Cities which exist at this Time, unless we have in View those of the *Crim Tartars*, built for the stowing and securing of Plunder, Cattle, Fruits, and other Produce of the Country. The antient Names of the chief Places in *Rome*, are all relative to this Use.

The City was even without Streets, unles we will give this Name to the Continuation of Roads which center'd in it. The Hous-es were straggling, built after an irregular Manner, and very small; for the Inhabitants being always either at their Work,

Work, or in the publick Square, were very seldom at home.

ROMULUS, and his Successors, were engag'd in almost perpetual Wars with their Neighbours, to increase the Number of their Citizens, their Women and their Territories. They us'd to return to the City, loaded with the Spoils of conquer'd Nations; and these Spoils, which consisted of Wheat-Sheaves and Flocks, us'd to fill 'em with the greatest Joy. Such is the Origin of Triumphs, to which that City, afterwards, chiefly ow'd its Grandeur.

The Strength of the *Romans* was greatly increased by their Union with the *Sabines*, a stubborn, warlike People, resembling the *Lacedæmonians* from whom they sprung. *Romulus* ² copied the Form of their Shields, which were large, and us'd 'em ever afterwards instead of the small Buckler of *Argos*: And 'tis to be observ'd, that the Circumstance which chiefly raised the *Romans* to the Sovereignty of the World, was, their laying aside their own Customs as soon as they met with better among the People they conquer'd; and 'tis well known that they fought successively against all Nations.

The Reign of *NUMA*, being long and pacific, was very well adapted to leave the *Romans* in their humble Condition; and had their Territory in that Age been less confin'd, and their Power greater, 'tis probable their Fortune would have been fix'd for ever.

SEXTUS the Son of *TARQUIN*, by violating the Chastity of *LUCRETIA*, committed a Crime which has generally drove Tyrants from the Cities they presidèd over; for when once a People are made strongly sensible, by the Commission of so enormous a Crime, of the Slavery to which they are reduc'd, they immediately form a desperate Resolution.

² *Plutarch's Life of Romulus.*

A People may suffer, without murmuring, the imposing of new Tributes, since they are not certain but that some Advantage may accrue to themselves, from the Disposal of the Monies so levied: But when an Insult is put upon them, they are affected with their Misfortune only; and this they aggravate, by affixing to it the Idea of all the Calamities which can possibly happen.

It must however be confess'd, that the Death of *Lucretia* did no more than occasion, accidentally, the Revolution which happen'd; for a haughty, enterprizing, bold People, confin'd within Walls, must necessarily either shake off the Yoke, or soften the Asperity of their Manners.

From the Situation of Things at that Time, this was the Result; Either that *Rome* should change the Form of its Government, or continue for ever a small, poor Monarchy.

Modern History furnishes us with a very remarkable Example of what happened at that time in *Rome*; for as Men have been sensible to the same Passions in all Ages, the Occasions which give rise to great Revolutions, are various, but the Causes are for ever the same.

As HENRY VII. of *England* increas'd the Power of the Commons, merely to humble the Nobility; so SERVIUS TULLIUS enlarged the Privileges of the People, in order to depres the Senate; but the People growing afterwards bolder, ruin'd each of the Monarchies under which they liv'd.

No flattering Colours have been employ'd, in the Picture which is left us of TARQUIN; his Name has not escap'd any of the Orators who declaimed against Tyranny; but his Conduct before his Calamities, which 'tis evident he foresaw; his Gentleness and Humanity towards the Conquer'd, his Beneficence to the Soldiers, the Arts by which he engag'd such Numbers to endeavour at his Prefer-

vation, the Edifices he rais'd for the Publick Use, his Courage in the Field, the Constancy and Patience with which he bore his Misfortunes, a Twenty Years War he either carried on, or caus'd to be carried on against the *Romans*, tho' depriv'd of his Kingdom, and very poor; these Things, and the Resources he perpetually found, prove manifestly, that he was no contemptible Person.

The Rank or Place which Posterity bestows, is subject, as all others are, to the Whim and Caprice of Fortune: Woe to the Reputation of that Monarch who is oppressed by a Party which after becomes the prevailing one; or who has endeavour'd to destroy a Prepossession that survives him.

The *Romans*, after having banish'd their Kings, appointed Consuls annually, a Circumstance which contributed to raise 'em to so exalted a Pitch. In the Lives of all Princes there are certain Periods of Ambition, and these are afterwards succeeded by other Passions, and even by Indolence; but the Commonwealth being governed by Magistrates who were changed every Year, and who endeavour'd to signalize themselves in their Employment, in the View of obtaining new ones, Ambition had not a Moment to lose. Hence it was that these Magistrates were ever persuading the Senate to stir up the People to a War, and pointed out to 'em new Enemies every Day.

This Body (the Senate) was inclin'd enough to do this of their own Accord; for, being quite tired of the Complaints and Demands of the People, they endeavour'd to remove the Occasion of their Disquiet, and to employ them in the foreign Wars.

Now the common People were generally pleas'd with War, because a Method had been found to make it beneficial to 'em, by the judicious Distribution that was made of the Spoils.

Rome being a City in which neither Trade nor Arts

Arts flourished, the several Individuals had no other Way of enriching themselves, but by Rapine.

An Order and Discipline was therefore established in the Way and Manner of pillaging, and this was pretty near the same with that now practised among the Inhabitants of *Lesser Tartary*^b.

The Plunder was laid together, and afterwards distributed among the Soldiers; not even the minutest Article was lost, because every Man, before he set out, swore not to embezzle any thing; besides that the *Romans* were, of all Nations, the most religious Observers of Oaths, these being consider'd as the Sinews of their Military Discipline.

In fine, those Citizens who staid at home, shar'd also in the Fruits of the Victory; for part of the conquer'd Lands was confiscated, and this was subdivided into two Portions, one of which was sold for the Benefit of the Publick, and the other divided by the Commonwealth, among such Citizens as were but in poor Circumstances, upon Condition of their paying a small Acknowledgment.

As the Consuls had no other Way of obtaining the Honour of a Triumph, than by a Conquest or a Victory, this made 'em rush into the Field with unparallel'd Impetuosity; they march'd directly to the Enemy, when Force immediately decided the Contest.

Rome was therefore engag'd in an eternal, and ever-obstinate War: Now, a Nation that is always ^c at War, and that too from the very Frame and Essence of its Government, must necessarily be destroy'd, or subdue all other Nations; for, these being sometimes at War, and at other times in

^b See Polybius, Book X.

^c The *Romans* consider'd Foreigners as Enemies: *Hofis*, according to *Varro de Lingua Lat. lib. 4.* signifi'd at first a Foreigner who liv'd according to his own Laws.

Peace, could never be so able to invade others, nor so well prepared to defend themselves.

By this means the *Romans* attain'd a perfect Knowledge in the Military Arts: In transient Wars most of the Examples are lost; Peace suggests different Ideas, and we forget not only our Faults but even Virtues.

Another Consequence of the Maxim of waging perpetual War, was, that the *Romans* never concluded a Peace but when they were victorious; and indeed, to what Purpose would it be to make an ignominious Peace with one Nation, and afterwards go and invade another?

In this View, their Pretensions rose always in proportion to their Defeat; by this they surpriz'd the Conquerors, and laid themselves under a greater Necessity of conquering.

Being for ever obnoxious to the most severe Vengeance; Perseverance and Valour became necessary Virtues: And these could not be distinguished, among them, from Self-Love, from the Love of one's Family, of one's Country, and of whatever is dearest among Men.

The same had happened to *Italy*, which beset *America* in late Ages; the Natives of the former, quite helpless and dispers'd up and down, having resign'd their Habitations to new Comers, it was afterwards peopled by three different Nations, the *Tuscans*,^d the *Gauls* and the *Greeks*. The *Gauls* had no Manner of Relation or Affinity either with the *Greeks* or *Tuscans*; the latter form'd a Society which had its peculiar Language, Customs and Morals; and the *Grecian Colonies*, who descended

^d 'Tis not known whether they were originally of that Country, or only a Colony; but *Dion. Halicarnassus* is of the former Opinion. *Lib. 1.*

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from different Nations that were often at Variance, had pretty separate Interests.

The World in that Age was not like the World in ours : Voyages, Conquest, Traffick ; the Establishment of mighty States ; the Invention of Post-Offices, of the Sea-Compaſs, and of Printing ; these with a certain general Polity have made Correspondence much easier, and given Rise, among us, to an Art, call'd by the Name of Politicks : Every Man sees at one Glance whatever is transacting in the whole Universe ; and if a People discover but ever so little Ambition, all the Nations round 'em are immediately terrified.

The People of *Italy* had none of those Engines which were employ'd in Sieges : And further, as the Soldiers were not allow'd any Stipend, there was no Possibility of keeping them long before a Town or Fortres : Hence it was, that few of their Wars were decisive : These fought from no other Motive, but merely to plunder the Enemy's Camp or his Lands ; after which both the Conqueror and the Conquered march'd back to their respective Cities. This Circumstance gave rise to the strong Resistance which the People of *Italy* made, and at the same time to the inflexible Resolution the *Romans* form'd to subdue 'em ; this favour'd the latter with Victories which no way deprav'd their Moraſls, and left them in their original Poverty.

Had the *Romans* made a rapid Conquest of the neighbouring Cities, they would have been in a declining Condition at the Arrival of *Pyrrhus*, of the *Gauls* and of *Hannibal* ; and by a Fate common to most Governments in the World, they would have

* *D. Halicarnass.* declares so expressly, *Lib. 9.* and this appears by History : They us'd to attempt the Scaleado of Cities with Ladders.

made too quick a Transition from Poverty to Riches, and from Riches to Depravity.

But *Rome*, for ever struggling, and ever meeting with Obstacles, made other Nations tremble at its Power, and at the same time was unable to extend it; and exercised in a very narrow Compass of Ground, a Train of Virtues that were to prove of the most fatal Consequence to the Universe.

All the People of *Italy* were not equally warlike: Those who inhabited the eastern Part, as the *Tarentines* and the *Capuans*; all the Cities of *Campagna*, and of *Græcia Major*, were quite immers'd in Indolence and in Pleasures; but the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, the *Sabines*, the *Æqui* and the *Volscians* were passionately fond of War: These Nations lay round *Rome*; the Resistance they made to that City was incredible, and they surpass'd them in Stubborness and Inflexibility.

The *Latin* Cities sprung from *Alban* Colonies, which were founded ^f by *LATINUS SYLVIVS*: Besides their common Extraction with the *Romans*, there were several Rites and Ceremonies common to both; and *SERVIUS TULLIUS* had ^g engaged them to build a Temple in *Rome*, to serve as the Center of Union of the two Nations. Losing a Battle near the Lake *Regillus*, they were subjected to an Alliance, and forc'd to associate in the ^h Wars which the *Romans* wag'd.

'Twas manifestly seen, during the short Time that the Tyranny of the Decemvirs lasted, how much the aggrandizing of *Rome* depended on its Liberty. The Government seem'd to have lost the

^f As appears from the Treatise entitled *Origo Gentis Romanae*, ascribed to *Aurelius Victor*.

^g *D. Hallicarnass.*

^h See in *D. Hallicarnass. Lib. 6.* one of the Treaties concluded with this People.

Soulⁱ which animated even to the minutest Part of it.

There remain'd at that Time but Two Sorts of People in the City, those who submitted to Slavery, and those who, for their own private Interest, endeavour'd to enslave the rest. The Senators withdrew from *Rome* as from a foreign City; and the neighbouring Nations did not meet with the least Resistance from any Quarter.

The Senate having found Means to give the Soldiers a regular Stipend, the Siege of *Veii* was undertaken, which lasted ten Years. But now a new Art and a new System of War, were seen to arise among the *Romans*; their Successes were more signal and conspicuous; they made a better Advantage of their Victories; their Conquests were greater; they sent out more Colonies: In fine, the taking of *Veii* prov'd a Kind of Revolution.

But all this did not lessen their Toils: If, on one Side, they attack'd with greater Vigour the *Tuscans*, the *Aequi*, and the *Volscians*; for this very Reason they were abandoned by the *Latins* and the *Hernici* their Allies, who were armed after the same Manner, and observ'd the same Discipline with themselves; this engag'd the *Tuscans* to form new Allianees; and prompted the *Samnites*, the most martial People of all *Italy*, to involve 'em in a furious War.

The taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls* did no way lessen its Strength; almost the whole Army, which was dispers'd rather than overcome, withdrew to *Veii*; the People shelter'd themselves in the adjacent Cities; and the Burning of *Rome* was no more than the setting Fire to a few Cottages of Shepherds.

ⁱ These *Decemviri*, upon Pretence of giving written Laws to the People, seiz'd upon the Government. See *D. Halicarnass. Lib. 11.*

CHAPTER II.

Of the Science of War as practised by the
ROMANS.

AS the *Romans* devoted themselves intirely to War, and consider'd it as the only Science, they therefore bent all their Thoughts, and the Genius with which they were inform'd, to the Improvement of it: Doubtless a God, says ^a *Vegetius*, inspired them with the Idea of the Legion.

They judged that it would be necessary to arm the Soldiers who compos'd the Legion with Weapons, whether offensive or defensive, of a stronger and ^b heavier Kind than those of any other Nation.

But as some Things must be done in War, which a heavy Body is not able to execute, the *Romans* would have the Legion include within it self a Band of light Forces, which might issue from it in order to provoke the Enemy to Battle, or draw back into it in case of Necessity; they also would have this Legion strengthen'd with Cavalry, with Spearmen and Slingers, to pursue those who fled, and complete the Victory; that it should be defended by military Engines of every Kind, which it drew after it; that every Evening this Body shou'd entrench it self, and be, as *Vegetius* ^c observes, a kind of Strong-hold.

But that the *Roman* Soldiers might be able to carry heavier Arms than other Men, it was necessary they should become more than Men; and this

^a Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

^b See in *Polybius*, and in *Josephus, de Eello Judaico*, Lib. 2. a Description of the Arms of the *Roman* Soldiers. There is but little Difference, says the latter, between a *Roman* Soldier, and a loaded Horse.

^c Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

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they became by perpetual Labour which increas'd their Vigour, and by Exercises that gave them an Activity, which is no more than a just Distribution of the Strength we are invigorated with.

'Tis observ'd in this Age, that the ^d immoderate Labour which Soldiers are oblig'd to undergo destroys our Armies; and yet 'twas by incredible Labour that the *Romans* preserv'd themselves. The Reason I take to be this; their Toils were continual and uninterrupted, whereas our Soldiers are ever shifting from the Extremes of Labour to the Extremes of Idleness, than which nothing can possibly be more destructive.

I must here take notice of what Authors ^e relate concerning the training up of the *Roman* Soldiery. They were inur'd to the military Pace, that is, to walk twenty Miles, and sometimes four and twenty, in five Hours. During these Marches, they carried Burdens of threescore Pound Weight; they habituated themselves to running and leaping, arm'd Cap-a-pee; in their ^f Exercises they made use of Swords, Javelins, and Arrows, double the Weight of common Weapons; and these Exercises were carried on without Intermission.

The Camp was not the only military Schools; there being in *Rome*, a Place in which the Citizens

^d Particularly the throwing up of the Ground.

^e See in *Vegetius Lib. I.* and in *Livy, Lib. XXVI.* the Exercises which *Scipio Africanus* made the Soldiers perform after the taking of *Carthago Nova*. *Marius* us'd to go every Day to the *Campus Martius*, even in his extreme old Age. 'Twas customary for *Pompey*, when 58 Years of Age, to arm himself Cap-a-pee, and engage in single Combat with the *Roman* Youths. He us'd to exercise himself in Riding, when he would run with the swiftest Career, and hurl the Javelin. *Plutarch* in the Lives of *Marius* and *Pompey*.

^f *Vegetius Lib. I.*

us'd to perform Exercises ('twas the *Campus Martius*:) After their Fatigues ^s they plung'd into the *Tyber*, to accustom themselves to swimming, and cleanse away the Dust and Sweat.

Whenever the *Romans* thought themselves exposed to any Danger, or were desirous of repairing some Loss, 'twas a constant Practice among them to invigorate and give new Life to their military Discipline. Are they engaged in a War with the *Latines*, a People no less martial than themselves? *MANLIUS* reflects upon the best Methods of strengthning the Command in the Field, and puts to Death his own Son, for conquering without his Orders. Are they defeated before *Numantia*? *SCIPIO AEMILIANUS* immediately removes the several Blandishments, which had enervated them. Have the *Roman* Legions past under the Yoke at *Numidia*? *METELLUS* wipes away their Ignominy, the Instant he has oblig'd them to resume their ancient Institutions. *MARIUS*, that he may be enabled to vanquish the *Cimbri* and the *Teutones*, begins by diverting the Course of ^b Rivers; and *SYLLA* employs in such hard Labour, his Soldiers, who were terrified at the War which was carrying against *Mithridates*, that they sue for Battle, to put an End to their Hardships.

PUBLIUS NASICA made the *Romans* build a Fleet of Ships, at a Time when they had no Occasion for such a Force: These People dreaded Idleness more than an Enemy.

In the Battles fought in our Age, every single Soldier has very little Security and Confidence except in the Multitude; but among the *Romans*, every Individual, more robust and of greater Experience in War, as well as more inur'd to the Fatigues of it,

^s *Vegetius Lib. I.*

^b *Frontin. Stratagem. Lib. I. Cap. II.*

than his Enemy, relied upon himself only. He was naturally endued with Courage, or in other Words, with that Virtue which a Sensibility of our own Strength inspires.

These Men thus inured were generally healthy and vigorous: We don't find by Historians, that the *Roman Armies*, which wag'd War in so great a Variety of Climates, fell often a Prey to Diseases; whereas in the present Age we daily see Armies, without once engaging, perish and melt away, if I may use the Expression, in a single Campaign.

Desertions are very frequent among us for this Reason, because the Soldiers are the Dregs of every Nation, and not one of them possesses, or thinks himself posseſſ'd of, a certain Advantage which gives him a Superiority over his Comrades. But among the *Romans* they were less frequent; it being scarce possible that Soldiers, rais'd from among a People naturally so haughty and imperious, and so sure of commanding over others, should demean themselves, to such a Degree, as to cease to be *Romans*.

As their Armies were not great, they were easily subsifted: The Commander had a better Opportunity of knowing the several Individuals; and could more easily perceive the various Faults and Misde-meanours committed by the Soldiery.

As no Troops in the World were, in any Age, so well disciplin'd, 'twas hardly possible that in a Battle, how unfortunate soever, but some *Romans* must rally in one Part or other of it; or on the other Side, but that the Enemy must be defeated in some Part of the Field: And, indeed, we find every where in History, that whenever the *Romans* happen'd to be overpower'd at the Beginning, either by Numbers, or the Fierceness of the Onset, they at last wrested the Lawrel out of the Enemy's Hand.

Their

Their chief Care was to examine, in what Particular their Enemies had an Advantage over them, and when this was found, they immediately rectified it. The cutting Swordsⁱ of the Gauls, and the Elephants of Pyrrhus intimidated them but once. They strengthen'd their Cavalry, ^k first, by taking the Bridles from the Horses; that their Impetuosity might be boundless, and afterwards by intermixing them with Velites:^l They baffled all the Art of the most experienc'd Pilots, by the Invention of an Engine which is describ'd by Polybius. In fine, as Josephus observes^m, War was a Subject of Meditation to the Romans, and Peace an Exercise.

If any Nation boasted, either from Nature or its Institution, any peculiar Advantage, the Romans immediately made use of it: They employ'd their utmost Endeavours to procure Horses from Numidia, Bowmen from Crete, Slingers from the Baleares, and Ships from the Rhodians.

To conclude, no Nation in the World ever prepar'd for War with so much Wisdom, and carried it on with so much Intrepidity.

ⁱ The Romans us'd to present their Javelins, when the Gauls struck at them with their Swords, and by that Means blunted them.

^k At the Time that they warr'd against the lesser Nations of Italy, their Horse was superior to that of their Enemies, and for this Reason, the Cavalry were compos'd of none but the ablest bodied Men, and the most considerable among the Citizens, each of whom had a Horse maintain'd at the publick Expence. When they alighted, no Infantry was more formidable, and they very often turn'd the Scale of Victory.

^l These were young Men lightly arm'd, and the most nimble of all the Legion. At the least Signal that was given, they wou'd either leap behind a Horseman, or fight on Foot. Valerius Maximus, Lib. II. Livy, Lib. XXVI.

CHAPTER II.

The Methods by which the ROMANS rais'd themselves to Empire.

AS the People of *Europe*, in this Age, have very near the same Arts, the same Arms, the same Discipline, and the same Manner of making War; the prodigious Fortune to which the *Romans* attained, seems incredible to us. Besides, Power is at this Time divided so disproportionately, that 'tis not possible for a petty State to raise it self, merely by its own Strength, from the low Condition in which Providence has plac'd it.

This merits some Reflections, otherwise we might behold several Events without being able to account for them; and for want of having a perfect Idea of the different Situation of Things, we should believe, in perusing antient History, that we view a Set of Men different from our selves.

Experience has shewn perpetually, that an *European* Prince who has a Million of Subjects, cannot, without destroying himself, keep up and maintain above Ten Thousand Soldiers; consequently, great Nations only are possess'd of Armies.

But the Case was different antiently with regard to Commonwealths: For this Proportion between the Soldiers and the rest of the People, which is now as One to an Hundred, might, in those Times, be, pretty near, as one is to Eight.

The Founders of ancient Commonwealths had made an equal Distribution of the Lands: This Circumstance alone rais'd a Nation to Power; that is to say, made it a well regulated Society: This also gave Strength to its Armies; it being equally the Interest (and this too was very great) of every Individual, to exert himself in Defence of his Country.

When

When Laws were not executed in their full Rigour, Affairs return'd back to the same Point in which we now see them: The Avarice of some particular Persons, and the lavish Profuseness of others, occasion'd the Lands to become the Property of a Few; immediately Arts were introduc'd to supply the reciprocal Wants of the Rich and Poor; by which Means there were but very few Soldiers or Citizens seen; for the Revenues of the Lands that had before been employ'd to support the latter, were now bestow'd wholly on Slaves and Artificers, who administered to the Luxury of the new Proprietors; for otherwise the Government, which, how licentious soever it be, must exist, would have been destroy'd: And 'twas impossible that People of this Cast should be good Soldiers, they being cowardly and abject; already corrupted by the Luxury of Cities, and often by the very Art they profess'd; not to mention, that as they could not properly call any Country their own, and reap'd the Fruits of their Industry in every Clime, they had very little either to lose or keep.

^a *Agis* and *Cleomenes* observing, that instead of Thirty thousand Citizens, (for so many were at *Sparta* in *Lycurgus's Time*) there were but Seven hundred, scarce a hundred of whom were possess'd of Lands; and that all the rest were no more than a cowardly Populace; they undertook to revive the Laws enacted on this Occasion; and from that Period *Lacedæmonia* recover'd its former Power, and again became formidable to all the Greeks.

'Twas the equal Distribution of Lands that at first enabled *Rome* to soar above its humble Condition; and this the *Romans* were strongly sensible of in their corrupted State.

^a See *Plutarch's Life of Cleomenes*.

This Commonwealth was confin'd to narrow Bounds, when the *Latins*, having refus'd to succour them with the Troops which had been ^b stipulated, Ten Legions were presently rais'd in the City only : Scarce at this Time, says *Livy*, *Rome*, whom the whole Universe is not able to contain, could levy such a Force, were an Enemy to appear suddenly under its Walls ; a sure Indication that we have not rose in Power, and have only increas'd the Luxury and Wealth which incommode us.

Tell me, would **TIBERIUS GRACCHUS** say to the Nobles, which is the most valuable Character, that of a Citizen or of a perpetual Slave? Who is most useful, a Soldier, or a Man entirely unfit for War? Will you, merely for the Sake of enjoying a few more Acres of Land than the rest of the Citizens, quite lay aside the Hopes of conquering the rest of the World, or be expos'd to see yourselves disposses'd by the Enemy of those very Lands which you refuse us?

CHAPTER IV.

1. *Of the Gauls.*
2. *Of Pyrrhus.*
3. *Parallel between Carthage and Rome.*
4. *The War of Hannibal.*

THE *Romans* were engag'd in several Wars against the *Gauls*: A Thirst of Glory, a Contempt of Death, and an inflexible Resolution of Conquering, were equal in both Nations, but the Weapons they us'd were different ; the Bucklers of the latter were small, and their Swords unfit for Execution ; and indeed, the *Gauls* were cut to

^b *Livy* 1 *Decad. L. VII.* This was sometime after the taking of *Rome*, under the Consulship of *L. Furius Camillus*, and *App. Claudius Crassius*.

^c *Appian.*

Pieces by the *Romans*, much after the same Manner as the *Mexicans*, in these latter Ages, by the *Spaniards*; and a surprising Circumstance is, that tho' these People were combatting perpetually with the *Romans*, they yet suffer'd themselves to be destroy'd one after another, without their ever being sensible of, enquiring after, or obviating the Cause of their Calamities.

PYRRHUS invaded the *Romans* at a time when they were strong enough to oppose the Power of his Arms, and to be taught by the Victories he obtain'd over 'em: From him they learnt to intrench themselves, as also the Choice and proper Disposition of a Camp: He accustom'd them to Elephants, and prepar'd 'em for mightier Wars.

The Grandeur of *Pyrrhus* was confin'd merely to his personal Qualities. *Plutarch* informs us, that he was oblig'd to begin the War of *Macedonia*, from his Inability to maintain any longer the Six thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse in his Service, This Prince, Sovereign of a small Country which has never made the least Figure since his Time, was a military Rambler, who was continually forming new Enterprizes, because he could not subsist but by Enterprizing.

As the **CARTHAGINIANS** grew wealthy sooner than the *Romans*, so they were sooner corrupted: Thus whilst at *Rome*, public Employments were made the Reward of Virtue only, and no other Emolument accrued from them than Honour, and a Preference in Toils; at *Carthage*, the several Advantages which the Public can bestow on particular Persons were venal, and every Service done by such Persons was there paid by the Public.

A Monarchy is not dragg'd nearer to the Brink of Ruin, by the Tyranny of a Prince, than a

* In his Life of *Pyrrhus*.

Commonwealth, by a Lukewarmness and Indifference for the general Good. The Advantage of a free State is, to have its Revenues employ'd to better Purposes, but where the Reverse of this happens ! The Advantage of a free State is, to be free from Favourites ; but when the contrary is seen ! And that instead of the Friends and Relations of a Prince, great Fortunes must be amass'd for the Friends and Relations of all Persons who have any Share in the Government ; in this Case an universal Ruin must ensue ; the Laws are then eluded more dangerously, than they are infring'd by a Sovereign Prince, who being always the greatest Citizen in the State, is most concern'd to labour at its Preservation.

By the constant Practice of ancient Customs and Manners, and a peculiar Use that was made of Poverty, the Fortunes of all the People in *Rome* were very near upon a Level ; but in *Carthage*, some particular Persons boasted the Wealth of Kings.

The two prevailing Factions in *Carthage* were so divided, that the one was always for Peace, and the other always for War ; by which Means it was impossible for that City, either to enjoy the one, or engage in the other to Advantage.

In *Rome*, ^b War immediately united the several Interests, but in *Carthage* it divided them still more.

^b Hannibal's Presence put an End to all the Feuds and Divisions which till then prevail'd among the *Romans* ; but the Presence of Scipio irritated those which already subsisted among the *Carthaginians*, and shackled, as it were, the Strength of the City ; for the common People now grew diffident of the Generals, the Senate, and the Great Men, and this made the People more furious. Appian has given us the History of this War, carried on by the First Scipio.

In a Monarchy, Feuds and Divisions are easily quieted, because the Prince is invested with a coercive Power to curb both Parties; but they are more lasting in a Commonwealth, because the Evil generally seizes the very Power which only could have wrought a Cure.

In *Rome*, which was govern'd by Laws, the People entrusted the Senate with the Management of Affairs; but in *Carthage*, which was govern'd by Fraud and Dissolutenes, the People would themselves transact all Things.

Carthage, in warring with all its Riches against the Poverty of *Rome*, had a Disadvantage in this very Circumstance; for Gold and Silver may be exhausted, but Virtue, Perseverance, Strength and Poverty are inexhaustible.

The *Romans* were ambitious thro' Pride, and the *Carthaginians* thro' Avarice; the former would command, the latter amass; and these, whose Minds were wholly turn'd to Traffick, perpetually casting up their Income and Expences, never engag'd in any War from Inclination.

The Loss of Battles, the Decrease of a People, the Decay of Trade, the Consumption of the publick Treasure, the Insurrection of neighbouring Nations, might force the *Carthaginians* to submit to the severest Terms of Peace: But *Rome* was not sway'd by the Consideration of Blessings or Calamities, being determin'd by no other Motive but its Glory; and as the *Romans* were persuaded they could not exist without commanding over others, neither Hopes or Fears of any kind, could prevail with them to conclude a Peace, the Conditions of which were not drawn up by themselves.

Nothing is so powerful as a Commonwealth in which the Laws are exactly observ'd, and this not from Fear nor from Reason, but from a passionate

Impulse, as in *Rome* and *Lacedæmonia*; for then the Wisdom of a good Legislature is united to all the Strength a Faction could possibly boast.

The *Carthaginians* made use of foreign Force, and the *Romans* employ'd none but their own. As the latter had never consider'd the Vanquished but merely as so many Instruments for future Triumphs; they made Soldiers of the several People they conquer'd; and the greater Opposition those made, the more worthy they judg'd them of being incorporated into their Republic. Thus we find the *Samnites*, who were not subdued till after Four and twenty Triumphs^b, become Auxiliaries to the *Romans*; and some time before the second *Punic War*, they rais'd from among that Nation and their Allies, that is, from a Country of little more Extent than the Territories of the *Pope* and *Naples*, Seven hundred thousand Foot, and Seventy thousand Horse, to oppose the *Gauls*.

In the Height of the second *Punic War*, *Rome* had always a standing Army of Twenty two or Twenty four Legions; and yet it appears by *Livy*, that at this time the *Census*, or general Survey, amounted to but about One hundred and thirty seven thousand Citizens.

The *Carthaginians* employ'd a greater Number of Troops in invading others, and the *Romans* in defending themselves; the latter arm'd, as was just now seen, a prodigious Multitude of Men to oppose the *Gauls* and *Hannibal* who invaded them; and they sent out no more than two Legions against the most powerful Kings; by this Means their Strength was eternal.

^b *Flor.* l. 1.

^c See *Polybius*. According to the Epitome of *Florus* they raised Three hundred thousand Men out of the City and among the *Latins*.

Carthage was not so strong from its Situation, as *Rome* from the Spot on which it stood: The latter had Thirty Colonies ^d round it, all which were as so many Bulwarks. The *Romans* were never abandoned by one of their Allies till the Battle of *Cannæ*; and for this Reason, the *Samnites* and other Nations of *Italy* were us'd to their Sovereignty.

As most of the Cities of *Africa* were poorly fortified, they presently surrendred to the first Enemy that appear'd under their Walls; and indeed *Agythocles*, *Regulus*, *Scipio*, in a Word, all who made a Descent on those Places, immediately spread Destruction thro' all *Carthage*.

We can scarce ascribe but to an evil Administration, the several Calamities which the *Carthaginians* suffer'd during the War that *Scipio* carried on against them; their City^e, and even their Armies were famish'd, at the same time that the *Romans* enjoy'd a Profusion of all Things.

Among the *Carthaginians*, the Armies which had been defeated grew more insolent upon it, in-somuch that they sometimes us'd to crucify their Generals, punishing them in this Manner for their own Cowardice. Among the *Romans*, the Consul, after punishing such Soldiers as had fled from their Colours, by a ^f Decimation, march'd the surviving Forces against the Enemy.

^d See *Livy*, Lib. 27.

^e See *Appian*, Lib. *Libycus*.

^f This Punishment, which was inflicted on those who had run from their Colours, on Mutineers, &c. was thus: The Names of all the Criminals being put together in a Vessel or Shield, were afterwards drawn out, every Tenth Man being to die without Reprieve. By this Means, tho' all were not put to Death, yet all were terrified into Obedience. Note by the Translator.

The Government of the *Carthaginians* was vastly oppressive : They had trampled so much upon the *Spaniards*, that when the *Romans* arriv'd among them, they were consider'd as their Deliverers ; and if we reflect upon the immense Sums it cost them to maintain, in that Country, a War which prov'd fatal to 'em, 'twill appear that Injustice is very improvident, and does not fulfil all her Promises.

The founding of *Alexandria* had very much lessen'd the Trade of *Carthage*. In the first Ages, Superstition us'd to banish, in some measure, all Foreigners from *Egypt* ; and after the *Perians* had conquer'd this Kingdom, they had bent their whole Thoughts to the weakning of their new Subjects ; but under the *Grecian* Monarchs, *Egypt* possess'd almost the whole Commerce of the Universe, and that of *Carthage* began to decay.

Such Powers as are established by Commerce, may subsist for a long Series of Years in their humble Condition, but their Grandeur is of short Duration ; they rise by little and little, and in an imperceptible Manner, for they don't perform any particular Exploit which may make a Noise, and signalize their Power : But when they have once rais'd themselves to so exalted a Pitch, that 'tis impossible but all must see 'em, every one endeavours to deprive this Nation of an Advantage which it had snatch'd, as it were, from the rest of the World.

The *Carthaginian* Cavalry was preferable to that of the *Romans*, for these two Reasons ; First, because the Horses of *Numidia* and *Spain* were better than those of *Italy* ; Secondly, because the *Roman* Cavalry was but indifferently provided with Arms ;

⁸ See what is related by *Polybius* concerning their Exactions.

for the *Romans*, as ^h Polybius informs us, did not introduce any Change on this Occasion, till such time as they fought in *Greece*.

In the first *Punic War*, *Regulus* was defeated as soon as the *Carthaginians* made Choice of Plains for their Cavalry to engage in; and in the second, ⁱ Hannibal ow'd his most glorious Victories to the *Numidians*.

Scipio, by the Conquest of *Spain* and the Alliance he made with *Massanissa*, depriv'd the *Carthaginians* of this Superiority: The *Numidian* Cavalry won the Battle of *Zama*, and put an End to the War.

The *Carthaginians* had greater Experience at Sea, and were better skill'd in the working of Ships than the *Romans*: But this Advantage seems to have been less in those Ages than it would be in the present.

As the Ancients had not the Use of the Sea-Compass, they were confin'd almost to Coasting; and indeed they had nothing but Gallies, which were small and flat-bottom'd; most Roads were to them as so many Harbours; the Knowledge of their Pilots was very narrow and contracted, and they had but very little Tackling. Their Art itself was so imperfect, that as much is now done with an hundred Oars, as in those Ages with a thousand.

Their larger Vessels had a Disadvantage in this, that being mov'd with Difficulty by the Crew of Galley-Slaves, it was impossible for 'em to make the necessary Evolutions. *Mark Anthony* experienced this, in the most fatal Manner, at *Actium*;

^h Book VI.

ⁱ The Circumstance which gave the *Romans* an Opportunity of taking a little Breath in the second *Punic War*, was this, Whole Bodies of *Numidian* Cavalry went over into *Sicily* and *Italy*, and there join'd them.

for his Ships were not able to move about, when attack'd on all Sides by the lighter Vessels of *Augustus*.

As the Antients us'd nothing but Galleons, the lighter Vessels easily broke the Oars of the greater ones, which were then but as so many unwieldy, immovable Machines, like modern Ships when they have lost their Masts.

Since the Invention of the Sea-Compas, different Methods have been employ'd; Oars have been laid aside; the main Ocean has been ⁱ visited, great Ships have been built; the Machine is become more complicated, and the Practices have been multiplied.

The Discovery of Gun-powder has occasion'd a Circumstance one would no ways have suspected, which is, that the Strength of Fleets depends more than ever upon Art; for in order to resist the Fury of the Cannon, and prevent the being expos'd to a superior Fire, it was necessary to build great Ships; but the Power of the Art must have been proportion'd to the Bulk of the Machine.

The small Vessels of the Antients us'd often to grapple suddenly with one another, on which Occasion the Soldiers engag'd on both Sides: A whole Land-Army was shipped on board a Fleet. In the Sea-Fight won by *Regulus* and his Colleague, an hundred and thirty thousand *Romans* fought against an hundred and fifty thousand *Carthaginians*: At that time Soldiers were look'd upon as considerable, and Artists the very reverse; but in these Ages, the Soldiers are consider'd as little or nothing, and Artists the very contrary.

A strong Proof of the Difference is, the Victory won by *Duilius* the Consul: The *Romans* were to-

ⁱ Hence we may judge of the Imperfection of the ancient Navies, since we have laid aside a Practice in which we had so much Superiority over them.

tally ignorant of Navigation, when a *Carthaginian Galley* happening to be stranded on their Coast, serv'd them as a Model for the building of others: In three Months time their Sailors were train'd, their Fleet was completely fitted out; the *Romans* put to Sea, came up with the *Carthaginians*, and defeated them.

In this Age, the whole Life of a Prince would scarce suffice for the founding and equipping of a Navy capable to make Head against a Power who is already possess'd of the Empire of the Sea: This perhaps may be the only thing which Money alone cannot effect; and tho' a great ¹ Monarch in our Days succeeded immediately in an Attempt of this Kind, Experience has prov'd to others, that such an ¹ Example is to be admired rather than imitated.

The second *Punic War* made so much Noise in the World, that 'tis known to every one: When we survey attentively the Crowd of Obstacles which started up before *HANNIBAL*, and reflect, that this extraordinary Man surmounted 'em all, we view the most august Spectacle that Antiquity can possibly exhibit.

Rome was a Miracle in Constancy and Resolution after the Battles of *Ticinus*, of *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*; after the Defeat at *Cannæ*, which was still more fatal to them, tho' they saw themselves abandon'd by most of the Nations in *Italy*, they yet would not sue for Peace; and for this Reason, the Senate never once receded from their antient Maxims: They conducted themselves towards *Hannibal*, in the same Manner as they had before behav'd with regard to *Pyrrhus*, to whom they refus'd all Terms of Accommodation, till such time as he should leave *Italy*; and *Dionysius Halicarnassus*^m

^k *Lxxix XIV.*

^l *Spain and Muscovy.*

^m *Antiq. Rom. L. VIII.*

informs us, that when *Coriolanus* was treating with the *Romans*, the Senate declar'd they would never infringe their antient Customs; that their People could not conclude a Peace so long as the Enemy should continue in their Territories; but that in case the *Valesians* would think fit to retire, they then should agree to any Terms that were just and reasonable.

Rome was sav'd by the Strength and Vigour of its Institution; after the Battle of *Cannæ*, their very Women were not allow'd to shed Tears; the Senate refus'd to ransom the Prisoners, and sent the miserable Remains of the Army to carry on the War in *Sicily*, unrecompens'd, and depriv'd of every military Honour, till such time as *Hannibal* was drove out of *Italy*.

On the other side, *Terentius Varro* the Consul had fled ignominiously as far as *Venusia*: This Man, whose Extraction was very mean, had been rais'd to the Consulship merely to mortify the Nobles. However the Senate would not enjoy the unhappy Triumph: They saw how necessary it was for them to gain the Confidence of the People on this Occasion; they therefore went out to meet *Varro*, and return'd him Thanks for not despairing of the Safety of the Commonwealth.

'Tis commonly not the real Loss sustain'd in a Battle, (that of the Slaughter of some thousand Men) which proves fatal to a State, but the imaginary Loss, the general Damp, which deprives it even of that Strength and Vigour which Fortune had left it.

Some things are asserted by all Men, because they have been asserted once: "Tis thought *Hannibal* committed an egregious Error, in not laying Siege to *Rome* after the Battle of *Cannæ*: It must be confess'd, that the Inhabitants of the former were at first seiz'd with a *Panic*; but then the Surprize

and Dread of a martial People, which always turns to Bravery, is not like that of a despicable Populace, who are sensible to nothing but their Weakness: A Proof *Hannibal* would not have succeeded, is, that the *Romans* were still powerful enough to send Succours where any were wanted.

'T is also said, that *Hannibal* was greatly overseen in marching his Army to *Capua*, where his Soldiers enervated themselves; but People who make these Assertions should consider, that they don't go back to the true Cause of it: Would not every Place have prov'd a *Capua* to a Body of Men, who had enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of so many Victories? *Alexander*, whose Army consisted of his own Subjects, made use, on a like Occasion, of an Expedient which *Hannibal*, whose Army was compos'd wholly of Mercenaries, could not employ; and this was, the setting Fire to the Baggage of his Soldiers, and burning all their Wealth and his own.

The very Conquests of *Hannibal* began to change the Fortune of the War: He did not receive any Succours from *Carthage*, either by the Jealousy of one Party, or the too great Confidence of the other: So long as he kept his whole Army together, he always defeated the *Romans*; but when he was oblig'd to put Garrisons into Cities, to defend his Allies, to besiege Strong-Holds or prevent their being besieged, he then found himself too weak, and lost a great part of his Army by piece-meal: Conquests are easily made, because we atchieve 'em with our whole Force; they are retain'd with Difficulty, because we defend 'em with only a part of our Forces.

CHAPTER V.

*The State of Greece, of Macedonia, of Syria
and of Egypt, after the Depression of Car-
thage.*

AS the CARTHAGINIANS lost every Battle they fought, either in *Spain*, in *Sicily*, or in *Sardinia*; *Hannibal*, whose Enemies were fortifying themselves incessantly, whilst very inconsiderable Reinforcements were sent himself, was reduc'd to the Necessity of engaging in a defensive War: This suggested to the *Romans* the Design of making *Africa* the Seat of War: Accordingly *Scipio* went into that Part of the World, and so great was his Success, that the *Carthaginians* were forc'd to recal from *Italy*, *Hannibal*, who wept for Grief at his surrendring to the *Romans* those very Plains, in which he had so often triumph'd over them.

Whatever is in the Power of a great General and a great Soldier to perform, all this *Hannibal* did to save his Country: Having fruitlessly endeavour'd to bring *Scipio* to pacifick Terms, he fought a Battle, in which Fortune seem'd to delight in confounding his Ability, his Experience and good Sense.

Carthage receiv'd the Conditions of Peace, not from an Enemy, but from a Sovereign; the Citizens of it oblig'd themselves to pay Ten thousand Talents in Fifty Years, to give Hostages, to deliver up their Ships and Elephants, and not to engage in any War without the Consent of the *Romans*; and in order that this Republick might always continue in a dejected State, the Victors heightned the Power of *Massinissa*, its irreconcilable Enemy.

After the Depression of *Carthage*, the *Romans* were scarce engag'd but in petty Wars and obtain'd mighty Victories, whereas before, they had obtain'd

but petty Victories and been engag'd in mighty Wars.

There were in those Times two Worlds, as it were, separate from each other ; in One, the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* fought, and the other was shaken by the Feuds and Divisions which had subsisted ever since the Death of *Alexander* : In the latter, no Regard was had¹ to the Transactions of the Western World : For tho' *Philip* King of *Macedon* had concluded a Treaty with *Hannibal*, yet very little resulted from it ; and this Monarch, who gave the *Carthaginians* but very inconsiderable Succours, just shew'd the *Romans* that he bore them a fruitless Ill-Will.

When two mighty People are seen to wage a long and obstinate War, 'tis often ill Policy to imagine that 'tis safe for the rest of the World to continue as so many idle Spectators ; for which soever of the two People triumphs over the other, engages immediately in new Wars ; and a Nation of Soldiers marches and invades Nations who are but so many Citizens.

This was very manifest in those Ages ; for scarce had the *Romans* subjected the *Carthaginians*, but they immediately invaded other Nations, and appear'd in all Parts of the Earth, carrying on an universal Invasion.

There were at that time in the East, but four Powers capable of making Head against the *Romans* ; *Greece*, the Kingdoms of *Macedonia*, *Syria* and *Egypt* : We must take a View of the Condition, at that time, of the two first of those Powers ; because the *Romans* began by subjecting them.

¹ 'Tis surprizing, as *Josephus* observes in his Treatise against *Appion*, that neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides* make the least mention of the *Romans*, tho' they had been engaged in such mighty Wars.

There were at that time three considerable People in *Greece*, the *Aetolians*, the *Achaeans*, and the *Bœotians*; these were so many Associations form'd by free Cities, which had their general Assemblies and Magistrates in common. The *Aetolians* were martial, bold, rash; greedy of Gain, very lavish of their Promises and Oaths; in fine, a People who warr'd on Land in the same Manner as Pirates do at Sea. The *Achaeans* were incommoded perpetually by troublesome Neighbours or Defenders. The *Bœotians*, who were the most heavy People of all *Greece*, but at the same time the wisest, liv'd generally in Peace; guided entirely by a Sensation of Happiness and Misery, they had not Genius enough to be either rouzed or misguided by Orators.

Lacedæmonia had preserv'd its Power, whereby I mean that warlike Spirit which the Institutions of *Lycurgus* inspir'd. The *Thessalians* were, in some measure, enslav'd by the *Macedonians*. The *Illyrian Kings* had already been very much deprest by the *Romans*. The *Acarnanians* and *Abamones* had been cruelly infested by the Troops of *Macedon* and *Aetolia* successively. The *Athenians*, weak in themselves, and unsupported by ^oAllies, no longer astonish'd the World, except by the Flatteries they lavish'd on Kings; and the Orators no more ascended the *Rostra* where *Demosthenes* had harangued, unless to propose the basest and most scandalous Decrees.

Besides, *Greece* was formidable from its Situation, its Strength, the Multitude of its Cities, the great Numbers of its Soldiers, its Polity, Manners and Laws; the *Greeks* delighted in War; they knew

^o They were not engag'd in any Alliance with the other Nations of *Greece*. *Polyb. Lib. VIII.*

the whole Art of it; and, had they united, would have been invincible.

They indeed had been terrified by the First *Philip*, by *Alexander*, and by *Antipater*, but not subdued; and the Kings of *Macedon*, who could not prevail with themselves to lay aside their Pretensions and their Hopes, made the most obstinate Attempts to enslave them.

The greatest Part of *Macedonia* was surrounded with inaccessible Mountains; the Inhabitants of it were form'd by Nature for War, courageous, obedient, industrious and indefatigable; and these Qualities must necessarily have been owing to the Climate, since the Natives of it are, to this Day, the best Soldiers in the *Turkish Empire*.

Greece maintain'd it self by a kind of Balance: The *Lacedæmonians* were generally in Alliance with the *Ætolians*, and the *Macedonians* with the *Achæans*; but the Arrival of the *Romans* quite destroy'd the *Æquilibrium*.

As the Kings of *Macedonia* were not able to maintain a large Body of Troops, the least Loss was of Consequence to them; besides, 'twas difficult for these Monarchs to aggrandize themselves; because, as their ambitious Views were not unknown, other Nations kept a watchful Eye over every Step they took; and the Successes they obtain'd in the Wars undertaken for the Sake of their Allies, was an Evil which these very Allies endeavour'd immediately to remedy.

But the Kings of *Macedonia* generally possess'd great Talents; their Monarchy was not like those which proceed for ever in the same Steps that were taken at the Foundation of them; instructed perpetually by Dangers and by Affairs, involv'd in all the Disputes of *Greece*, it was necessary for them either to bribe the principal Magistrates of Cities, to raise

raise a Mist before the Eyes of Nations, or to divide or unite their Interests; in a Word, they were obliged to expose, every Moment, their Persons to the greatest Dangers.

Philip, who in the Beginning of his Reign had won the Love and Confidence of the *Greeks* by his Moderation, chang'd on a sudden; he became ^P a cruel Tyrant, at a Time when he ought to have behav'd with Justice, both from Policy and Ambition: He saw, tho' at a Distance, the *Romans* possess'd of numberless Forces; he had concluded the War to the Advantage of his Allies, and was reconcil'd to the *Etolians*: 'Twas natural he shou'd now endeavour to unite all the *Greeks* with himself, in order to prevent the *Romans* from settling in their Country; but so far from this, he exasperated them by petty Usurpations; and trifled away his Time in examining Affairs of little or no Consequence, at a Time when his very Existence was endanger'd; by the Commission of three or four evil Actions, he made himself odious and detestable to all *Greece*.

The *Etolians* were most exasperated, and the *Romans* snatching the Opportunity of their Re-sentment, or rather of their Folly, made an Alliance with them, entred *Greece*, and arm'd it against *Philip*. This Prince was defeated at the Battle of *Cynocephalæ*, and the Victory was partly gain'd by the Valour of the *Etolians*: So great was his Terror on this Occasion, that he concluded a Treaty, which was not so properly a Peace, as the renouncing his own Strength; for he evacuated his Garrisons in all *Greece*, deliver'd up his

^P See *Polyb.* who relates the unjust and cruel Actions by which *Philip* lost the Favour of the People.

Ships, and bound himself under an Obligation of paying a thousand Talents in ten Years.

Polybius compares, with his usual good Sense, the Disposition of the *Roman Armies* with that of the ⁹ *Macedonians*, which was observ'd by all the Kings who succeeded *Alexander*: He points out the Conveniences as well as Inconveniences of the Phalanx and of the Legion: He prefers the Disposition us'd by the *Romans*, in which he very probably was right, since all the Battles fought at that Time show it to have been preferable.

The Success which the *Romans* obtain'd over *Philip*, was the greatest Step they ever took towards a general Conquest: To make sure of *Greece*, they employ'd all Methods possible to depress the *Etolians*, by whose Assistance they had been victorious: They ordain'd, moreover, that every City of *Greece* which had been subject to *Philip*, or any other sovereign Prince, should from that time be govern'd by its own Laws.

'Tis very evident, that these petty Commonwealths must necessarily be dependent: The *Greeks* abandon'd themselves to a stupid Joy, and fondly imagin'd they were really free, because the *Romans* had declar'd them to be so.

The *Etolians*, who had imagined they should bear Sway in *Greece*, finding they had only brought themselves under Subjection, were seiz'd with the deepest Grief; and as they had always form'd def-

⁹ A Circumstance which had contributed very much to the Danger to which the *Romans* were expos'd in the second *Punic War*, was, *Hannibal's* presently arming his Soldiers after the *Roman Manner*; but the *Greeks* did not change either their Arms or their Way of fighting; and could not prevail with themselves to lay aside Customs, by the Observance of which they had perform'd such mighty Things.

perate Resolutions, they invited, in order to correct one Extravagance by another, ANTIOCHUS King of *Syria* into *Greece*, in the same Manner as they had before invited the *Romans*.

The Kings of *Syria* were the most powerful of all *Alexander's Successors*, they being possess'd of almost all the Dominions of *Darius*, *Egypt* excepted; but by the Concurrence of several Circumstances, their Power had been much weakened.

Seleucus, who founded the *Syrian Empire*, had destroy'd, towards the latter End of his Life, the Kingdom of *Lysimachus*. During the Feuds and Distractions, several Provinces took up Arms; the Kingdoms of *Pergamus*, of *Cappadocia* and of *Bithynia* started up; but these petty, fearful States, always consider'd the Depression of their former Masters as the making of their own Fortune.

As the Kings of *Syria* always beheld, with a most invidious Eye, the Felicity of the Kingdom of *Egypt*, they bent their whole Thoughts to the Conquest of that Country; by this Means, neglecting the East, they were dispossess'd of several Provinces there, and but indifferently obey'd in the rest.

In fine, the Kings of *Syria* possess'd upper and lower *Asia*; but Experience has shewn, that in this Case, when the Capital City and the chief Forces are in the lower Provinces of *Asia*, there is no Possibility of maintaining the upper ones; and on the contrary, when the Seat of the Empire is in the upper Provinces, the Monarch weakens himself by maintaining the lower ones. Neither the *Persian* nor *Syrian Empires* were ever so powerful as that of the *Parthians*, tho' these reign'd over but Part of the Provinces which form'd the Dominions of those two Powers. Had *Cyrus* not conquer'd the Kingdom of *Lydia*; had *Seleucus* continu'd in *Babylon*, and let the Successors of *Antigonus* posses

the

the Maritime Provinces, the *Greeks* wou'd never have conquer'd the *Persian Empire*, nor the *Romans* that of *Seleucus*. Nature has prescrib'd certain Limits to States, purposely to mortify the Ambition of Mortals: When the *Romans* stept beyond those Limits, the greatest Part of them were destroy'd by the *Parthians*¹; when the *Parthians* presum'd to pass 'em, they were forc'd immediately to retire back; and in our Days, such *Turks* as advanc'd beyond those Boundaries, were oblig'd to return whence they came.

The Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* had, in their respective Dominions, two Kinds of Subjects, victorious Nations, and Nations vanquished; the former, still puff'd up with the Idea of their Origin, were rul'd with very great Difficulty: They were not fir'd with that Spirit of Independance which animates us to shake off the Yoke, but with that Impatience which makes us wish to change our Sovereign.

But the chief Weakness of the Kingdom of *Syria* sprung from that of the Court, where such Monarchs presidèd as were Successors to *Darius*, not to *Alexander*. Luxury, Vanity and Effeminity, which have prevail'd thro' all Ages in the Asiatic Courts, triumphed more particularly in that of *Syria*: The Evil infected the common People and the Soldiers, and catch'd the very *Romans* themselves; since the War in which they engag'd against *Antiochus*, is the true Æra of their Corruption.

Such was the Condition of the Kingdom of *Syria*, when *Antiochus* who had perform'd such mighty Things, declar'd War against the *Romans*; but he did not conduct himself in it with even the

¹ I have given the Reason of this in the XV. Chapter, borrow'd partly from the Geographical Disposition of the Two Empires.

Wisdom which is employed in common Affairs : *Hannibal* requested, either to have the War revived in *Italy*, and *Philip* brib'd; or else that he might be prevail'd upon to stand neuter : *Antiochus* did not follow any part of this Advice : He appeared in *Greece* with only a small Part of his Forces : And as tho' he were come merely to see the War, not to carry it on, he followed nothing but his Pleasures, by which Means he was defeated, and fled out of *Asia*, terrified rather than conquer'd.

PHILIP, who was dragg'd to this War by the *Romans*, as tho' a Flood had swept him along, employ'd his whole Power in their Service, and became the Instrument of their Victories : The Pleasure of taking Vengeance of, and laying waste *Aetolia*; the Promise made him of lessening the Tribute he paid, and of leaving him the Possession of certain Cities ; some personal Jealousy of *Antiochus* ; in a word, a few inconsiderable Motives sway'd his Resolutions ; and not daring so much as to think of shaking off the Yoke, he only consider'd how he might best lighten it.

Antiochus form'd so wrong a Judgment of Things, as to fancy, that the *Romans* would not molest him in *Asia* ; however, they follow'd him thither ; he was again overcome, and in his Consternation, consented to the most infamous Treaty that ever was concluded by so mighty a Prince.

I cannot recollect any thing so magnanimous, as a Resolution taken by a Monarch in our Days^s, to bury himself under the Ruins of the Throne, rather than accept of Terms which were unworthy of a King : So haughty was his Soul, that he could not stoop lower than his Misfortunes had thrown him ; and he was very sensible, that Courage may, but Infamy can never, give fresh Strength to the Regal Diadem.

We often meet with Princes who have Skill enough to fight a Battle, but with very few that have the Talents requisite for carrying on a War ; who are equally capable of making a proper Use of Fortune and of waiting for her ; and who join to a Frame of Mind, which raises Suspicions before it executes, such a Disposition as makes them fearless after they have once executed.

After the Depression of *Antiochus*, some inconsiderable Powers only remain'd, if we except *Egypt*, which from the Advantage of its Situation, its Fertility, its Commerce, the great Number of its Inhabitants, its Naval and Land-Forces, might have been formidable ; but the Cruelty of its Kings, their Cowardice, their Avarice, their Imbecility, and their enormous Sensualities, made 'em so odious to their Subjects, that they supported themselves, for the most part, by the Protection of the *Romans*.

'Twas a kind of fundamental Law, with Regard to the Crown of *Egypt*, that the Sisters should succeed with the Brothers ; and in order to preserve Unity in the Government, the Brother was married to the Sister. Now, 'tis scarce possible to figure any thing more pernicious in Politicks than such an Order of Succession ; for as all the little domestick Feuds rose so high as to disorder the State, whichsoever of the two Parties had the least discontent, immediately excited against the other, the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, a numberless Multitude, always prepar'd to join with the first of their Kings who should rouze them ; so that there were for ever Princes who actually reigned, and Pretenders to the Crown ; and as the Kingdoms of *Cyrene* and *Cyprus* were generally possessed by other Princes of that House, who laid their respective Claims to the whóle ; by that Means the Throne of these Princes was ever tottering ; and being

being indifferently settled at Home, they had no Power abroad.

The Forces of the Kings of *Egypt*, like those of the *Asiatic Monarchs*, were compos'd of auxiliary *Greeks*. Besides the Spirit of Liberty, of Honour, and of Glory, which animated the latter People, they were incessantly employ'd in Bodily Exercises of every Kind. In all their chief Cities Games were instituted, wherein the Victors were crown'd in the Presence of all *Greece*, which rais'd a general Emulation: Now, in an Age when Combatants fought with Arms, the Success of which depended on their Strength and Dexterity, 'tis natural to suppose that Men thus exercised, must have had a great Advantage over a Crowd of *Barbarians*, who were enlisted at Random, and dragg'd indiscriminately into the Field, as was evident from the Armies of *Darius*.

The *Romans*, in Order to deprive the Kings of such a Body of Soldiery, and to bereave them, but in an easy, silent Manner, of their principal Forces, observ'd two Things: First, they establish'd by insensible Degrees as a Maxim, with respect to all the Cities of *Greece*, that they should not conclude any Alliance, give any Succour, or make War against any Nation whatsoever without their Consent: Secondly, in their Treaties with ¹ Kings, they forbid them to levy any Forces from among the Allies of the *Romans*, by which Means, those Monarchs were reduced to employ their national Troops only.

¹ They had before observ'd this political Conduct with regard to the *Carthaginians*, whom they oblig'd, by the Treaty concluded with them, to employ no longer auxiliary Troops, as appears from a Fragment of *Dion*.

CHAPTER VI.

*The Conduct which the ROMANS observ'd, in
order to subdue all Nations.*

DURING the Course of so mighty a Prosperity, in which 'tis usual for Mankind to forget themselves, the Senate continued to act with the same Depth of Judgment; and whilst their Armies were spreading an universal Terror, they would not suffer those to rise who were once cast to the Ground.

A Tribunal arose which judg'd all Nations: At the Close of every War they determin'd the Rewards or Punishments which every one had merited: They took away from the vanquish'd People, part of their Lands, and gave 'em to their Allies, in which they did two things; they engag'd in the Interests of *Rome*, Princes from whom they had little to fear, and much to hope; and they weaken'd others from whom they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear.

In warring with an Enemy they made use of their Allies, but immediately extirpated the Destroyers. *Philip* was overcome by the Assistance of the *Aetolians*, who were destroy'd presently after, for having join'd themselves to *Antiochus*. This King was overcome by the Assistance of the *Rhodians*; but after the most conspicuous Rewards had been bestow'd upon 'em, they were depressed for ever, upon Pretence that they had demanded to have a Peace concluded with *Perseus*.

When the *Romans* were oppos'd by several Enemies at the same time, they granted a Truce to the weakest, who thought themselves happy in obtaining it; considering it as a great Advantage, that their Ruin had been suspended.

When

When they were engag'd in a mighty War, the Senate wink'd at Wrongs of every Kind, and silently waited the Season proper for Chaitisement: If at any time a People sent 'em the Offenders, they refus'd to punish 'em, chusing rather to consider the whole Nation as guilty, and reserve to themselves a useful Vengeance.

As they made their Enemies suffer inexpressible Evils, very few Leagues were formed against them; for He who was at the greatest Distance from the Danger, did not care to come near it.

For this Reason War was seldom denounc'd against 'em, but themselves always made it at a Season, in the Manner, and with a People, as best suited their Interest; and among the great Number of Nations they invaded, there were few but would have submitted to Injuries of every Kind, provided they could but be suffered to live in Peace.

As 'twas usual for them to deliver themselves always in a magisterial Way, such Embassadors as they sent to Nations who had not yet felt the Weight of their Power, were sure to meet with ill Treatment, which furnished them with a sure Pretence to engage in a new War.

As they never concluded a Peace with Sincerity and Integrity, and intended a general Invasion, their Treaties were properly but so many Suspensions from War; they inserted such Conditions in them, as always pav'd the Way to the Ruin of those States who accepted 'em: They us'd to send the Garrisons out of the Strong-Holds; they regulated the Number of the Land-Forces, or had the Horses and Elephants deliver'd up to them; and, in case, this People were powerful at Sea, they oblig'd

^a See an Example of this, in their War with the *Dalmates*. See *Polybius*.

them to burn their Ships, and sometimes to remove higher up in the Country.

After having destroy'd the Armies of a Prince, they drain'd his Treasury, by imposing a heavy Tribute, or taxing him immoderately, under Colour of making him defray the Expence of the War: A new Species of Tyranny, which obliged him to oppress his Subjects, and thereby lose their Affection.

Whenever they granted a Peace to some Prince, they us'd to take one of his Brothers or Children by way of Hostage, which gave them an Opportunity of raising, at Pleasure, Commotions in his Kingdom: When they had the next Heir among them, 'twas their Custom to intimidate the Possessor: Had they only a Prince of a remote Degree, they made use of him to foment the Insurrections of the Populace.

Whenever any Prince or any People had withdrawn from their Allegiance, they immediately indulg'd em the Title of *Allies* to the *Romans*; and by this Means they became sacred and inviolable; so that there was no Monarch, how formidable so ever, who could rely one Moment upon his Subjects, or even upon his own Family.

Altho' the Title of their Ally was a Kind of Servitude, it ^c yet was very much sought after; for those who enjoy'd it were sure to receive no Injuries but from them, and had Reason to flatter themselves they would be less grievous; hence Nations and Kings were ready to undertake any kind of Services, and submitted to the meanest and

^b See particularly their Treaty with the *Jews* in the 1st Book of the *Maccabees*, Ch. 8.

^c *Ariarathes* offer'd a Sacrifice to the Gods, says *Polybius*, by way of Thanks for having obtain'd their Alliance.

most groveling Acts, merely for the Sake of obtaining it.

They had various Kinds of Allies; some were united to them by Privileges and a Participation in their Grandeur, as the *Latins* and the *Hernici*; others by the Settlement it self, as their Colonies; some by good Offices, as *Massanissa*, *Eumenes*, and *Attalus*, who were obliged to them for their Kingdoms or their Exaltation; others by free and unconstrain'd Treaties, and these, by the long Continuation of the Alliance, became Subjects, as the Kings of *Egypt*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and most of the *Grecian Cities*; in fine, many by forc'd and involuntary Treaties, and by the Law of their Subjection, as *Philip* and *Antiochus*; for every Peace the *Romans* granted an Enemy, included also an Alliance with him; or in other Words, they made every Nation subdued by them contribute to the Depression of others.

When they permitted any Cities the Enjoyment of their Liberties, they immediately rais'd two Factions in them, one of which defended the Laws and Liberties of the Country, whilst the other asserted, that the Will of the *Romans* was the only Law; and as the latter Faction was always the most powerful, 'tis plain such a Liberty could be but a mere Name.

They sometimes possess'd themselves of a Country upon Pretence of being Heirs to it: They entered *Aisa*, *Bithynia* and *Libya* by the last Wills of *Attalus*, of *Nicomedes*^c, and of *Appion*; and *Egypt* was enslaved by that of the King of *Cyrene*.

To keep great Princes for ever in a weak Condition, they would not suffer them to conclude an Alliance with those Nations to whom they had granted

^a See *Polybius* on the Cities of *Greece*.

^c The Son of *Philopator*.

theirs^f; and as they did not refuse it to any People who border'd upon a powerful Prince, this Condition inserted in a Treaty of Peace, depriv'd him of all his Allies.

Besides, when they had overcome any considerable Prince, one of the Articles of the Treaty was, that he should not make War, upon Account of any Feuds of his own, with the Allies of the Romans (that is to say, generally with all his Neighbours); but should submit 'em to Arbitration, which depriv'd him of a military Power for time to come.

And in order to keep the sole Possession of it in their own Hands, they bereav'd their very Allies of this Force; the Instant these had the least Contest, they sent Embassadors, who oblig'd 'em to conclude a Peace: We need but consider the Manner in which they terminated the Wars of *Attalus* and *Prusias*.

When any Prince had gain'd such a Conquest as often had exhausted him, immediately a Roman Embassador came and wrested it out of his Hands: Among a Multitude of Examples, we may remember how they with a single Word, drove *Antiochus* out of *Egypt*.

Fully sensible how well the European Nations were turn'd for War, they establish'd as a Law, that no^g Asiatic Monarch should be suffer'd to come into Europe, and there invade any People whatsoever. The chief Motive of their declaring War against *Mithridates*^h was, for his having

^f This was *Antiochus's Case*.

^g The Order sent to *Antiochus*, even before the War, for him not to cross into Europe, was made general with regard to all other Kings.

^h *Appian de Bello Mithridati*.

scold'd some Barbarians contrary to this Prohibition.

When they saw two Nations engag'd in War, altho' they were not in Alliance, nor had any Contest with either of 'em, they nevertheless appear'd upon the Stage of Action, and, like our Knight-Errants, always fided with the weakest: 'Twas an ⁱ antient Custom, says *Dionysius Hall-carnassus*, for the *Romans* to grant Succour to all who came to implore it.

These Customs of the *Romans* were not certain particular Incidents, which happen'd by Chance, but were so many invariable Principles; and this is easy to perceive, for the Maxims they put in Practice against the greatest Monarchs were exactly the same with those they had employ'd, in their Infant State, against the little Cities which stood round 'em.

They made *Eumenes* and *Massanissa* contribute to the Subjection of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, as they had before employ'd the *Latins* and the *Hernici* to subdue the *Volsicians* and the *Tuscan*s: They obliged the *Carthaginians* and the Kings of *Asia* to surrender their Fleets to them, in like Manner as they had forc'd the Citizens of *Antium* to give up their little Vessels.

Whenever there happen'd any Feud in a State, they immediately judg'd the Affair, and thereby were sure of having that Party only, whom they condemn'd, for their Enemy. If Princes of the same Blood were at Variance for the Crown, they sometimes declar'd 'em both Kings, and by this Means crush'd the Power of both: If one of 'em was a Minor, they declar'd in his Favour, and

ⁱ A Fragment of *Dionysius*, copied from the Extract of Embassies, made by *Constantine Porphyrogeneta*.

^k To enable themselves to ruin *Syria*, in quality of Guardians, they declared in Favour of the Son of *An-*
made

made themselves his Guardians, in Quality of Protectors of the World; for they had carried Matters to so high a Pitch, that Nations and Kings were their Subjects, without knowing directly upon what Right or Title; it being a Maxim, that the bare hearing of their Names was sufficient for a People to acknowledge them their Sovereigns.

When any State compos'd too formidable a Body from its Situation or Union, they never fail'd to divide it. The Republick of *Achaia* was form'd by an Association of free Cities; the Senate declar'd, that every City should from that time be govern'd by its own Laws, independent on the general Authority.

The Commonwealth of *Bœotia* rose likewise from a League made between several Cities; but, as in the War of *Perseus*, one City declar'd for that Prince, and others for the *Romans*; the latter receiv'd them into Favour, when the common Alliance was dissolv'd.

Macedonia was surrounded by inaccessible Mountains: The Senate divided it into four Parts; declar'd those free; prohibited them every Kind of Alliance among themselves by Marriage; carried off all the Nobles into *Italy*, and by that Means reduc'd this Power to nothing.

Had a great Monarch who reign'd in our Time follow'd these Maxims, when he saw a neighbouring Prince dethron'd, he would have employ'd a stronger Force in his Support, and have confin'd him to the Island which continued faithful to him. By dividing the only Power that could have opposed his Designs, he would have drawn infinite Advantages even from the Misfortunes of his Ally.

Dioclesius, who was but a Child, in Opposition to *Demetrius* who was their Hostage, and conjur'd 'em to do him Justice, crying, that *Rome* was his Mother, and the Senators his Fathers.

The *Romans* never engag'd in far-distant Wars, till they had first made an Alliance with some Power contiguous to the Enemy they invaded, who might unite his Troops to the Army they sent; and as this was never considerable with regard to Numbers, they always had¹ another in that Province which lay nearest the Enemy, and a third in *Rome*, ever ready to march at a Moment's Warning. In this Manner they never hazarded but a small Part of their Forces, whilst their Enemy ventur'd all his.

They sometimes insidiously abus'd the Subtlety of the Words of their Language: They destroy'd *Carthage*, upon pretence that they had promis'd to preserve the *Civitas*, not the *Urbs*^m. 'Tis well known in what Manner the *Aetolians*, who had abandon'd themselves to their Faith, were impos'd upon; the *Romans* pretended, that the Signification of these Words, *Abandon one's self to the Faith of an Enemy*, imply'd the Loss of all Things; of Persons, Lands, Cities, Temples, and even of Burial Places.

The *Romans* would even go so far, as to give arbitrary Explanations to Treaties: Thus, when they were resolv'd to depress the *Rhodians*, they declar'd, that they had formerly given them *Lycia*, not by way of Present, but as a Friend and Ally.

When one of their Generals concluded a Peace, merely to preserve his Army which was just upon the Point of being cut to Pieces, the Senate, who did not ratify it, took Advantage of this Peace and continu'd the War. Thus when **JUGURTHA**

¹ This was their constant Practice, as appears from History.

^m There is sometimes this Difference between *Civitas* and *Urbs*; the former signifies the Inhabitants, the latter the Buildings. Note by the Translator.

had surrounded an Army of *Romans*, and permitted them to march away unmolested, upon the Faith of a Treaty, these very Troops he had sav'd were employ'd against him: And when the *Numantines* had reduced twenty thousand *Romans* just perishing with Hunger, to the Necessity of suing for Peace; this Peace, which had sav'd the Lives of so many thousand Citizens, was broke at *Rome*, and the public Faith was eluded by ⁿ sending back the Consul who had sign'd it.

They sometimes would conclude a Peace with a Monarch upon reasonable Conditions, and the Instant he had executed them, they added others of so injurious a Nature, that he was forc'd to renew the War. Thus when they had forc'd *Jugurtha* ^{to} deliver up his Elephants, his Horses, his Treasures, and his Deserters, they requir'd him to surrender up his Person, which being the greatest Calamity that can befall a Prince, cannot for that Reason be ever made an Article of Peace.

In fine, they set up a Tribunal over Kings, whom they judg'd for their particular Vices and Crimes: They heard the Complaints of all Persons who had any Dispute with *PHILIP*: They sent Deputies with 'em by way of Safeguard, and oblig'd *Perseus* to appear before these, to answer for certain Murthers and certain Quarrels he had with some Inhabitants of the confederate Cities.

ⁿ After *Claudius Glycias* had granted the *Corsicans* a Peace, the Senate gave Orders for renewing the War against them, and deliver'd up *Glycias* to the Inhabitants of the Island, who would not receive him. Every one knows what happened at the *Furce Caudinae*.

^o They acted the same Part with regard to *Viriatus*: After having oblig'd him to give up the Deserters, he was order'd to surrender up his Arms, to which neither himself nor his Army could consent. *Fragment of Dion.*

As Men judg'd of the Glory of a General by the Quantity of the Gold and Silver carried in his Triumph, the *Romans* stripp'd the vanquish'd Enemy of all Things. *Rome* was for ever enriching itself; and every War they engag'd in, enabled 'em to undertake a new one.

All the Nations who were either Friends or Confederates, quite^p ruin'd themselves by the immensely-rich Presents they made, in order to procure the Continuance of the Favours already bestow'd upon 'em, or to obtain greater; and half the Monies which us'd to be sent upon these Occasions to the *Romans*, would have suffic'd to conquer them.

Being Masters of the Universe, they arrogated to themselves all the Treasures of it; and were less unjust Robbers, consider'd as Conquerors, than consider'd as Legislators. Hearing that PTOLEMY King of *Cyprus* was possess'd of immense Wealth, they^q enacted a Law propos'd by a Tribune, by which they gave to themselves the Inheritance of a Man still living, and confiscated to their own Use the Estates of a confederate Prince.

In a little Time, the Greediness of particular Persons quite devour'd whatever had escaped the public Avarice; Magistrates and Governors us'd to sell their Injustice to Kings: Two Competitors would ruin one another, for the Sake of purchasing an ever-dubious Protection against a Rival who was not quite undone; for the *Romans* had not even the Justice of Robbers, who discover a certain Pro-

^p The Presents which the Senate us'd to send Kings were mere Trifles, as a Chair and an Ivory Staff, or a Robe like to that worn by their Magistrates.

^q *Divitiarum tanta fama erit*, says *Florus*, *ut vicerit Gentium populus, & donare Regna consultus, socii virique Regis confiscationem mandaverit.* Lib. III. c. 9.

bity in the Exercise of Guilt. In fine, as Rights, whether lawful or usurped, were maintain'd by Money only; Princes, to obtain it, despoil'd Temples, and confiscated the Possessions of the wealthiest Citizens; a thousand Crimes were committed, purely for the Sake of giving to the *Romans* all the Money in the Universe.

But nothing was of greater Advantage to this People than the Awe with which they struck the whole Earth: In an Instant, Kings were put to Silence, and seem'd as though they were stupid; no Regard was had to their Eminence, but their very Persons were attack'd; to hazard a War, was to expose themselves to Captivity, to Death, to the Infamy of a Triumph. Thus Kings, who liv'd in the midst of Pomps and Pleasures, did not dare to fix their Eyes stedfastly on the *Roman* People; and their Courage failing them, they hop'd to suspend a little the Miseries with which they were threatened, by their Patience and groveling Actions.

Observe, I intreat you, the Conduct of the *Romans*. After the Defeat of ANTIUCHUS they were posseſſ'd of *Africa*, *Asia* and *Greece*, without having scarce a single City in these Countries that were immediately their own. They seem'd to conquer with no other View but to bestow; but then they obtain'd so complete a Sovereignty, that whenever they engag'd in War with any Prince, they oppress'd him, as it were with the Weight of the whole Universe.

The Time proper for seizing upon the conquer'd Countries was not yet come: Had the *Romans* kept the Cities they took from *Philip*, the Greeks would have seen at once into their Designs: Had they, after the Second *Punick War*, or that with *Antio-*

DECLENSION of the ROMANS. 51

thus, posses'd themselves of Lands in *Africa* and in *Asia*, they could never have preserv'd Conquests so slightly establish'd.

"Twas the Interest of the *Romans* to wait till all Nations were accustom'd to obey, as free and as Confederate, before they should attempt to command over them as Subjects; and to let 'em blend and lose themselves, as it were, by little and little, in the *Roman Commonwealth*.

This was a slow Way of conquering: After overcoming a Nation, they contented themselves with weakening it; they imposed such Conditions as consum'd it insensibly: If it recover'd, they depress'd it still more, and it became subject, without there being a Possibility of dating the *Æra* of its Subjection.

Thus *Rome* was not properly either a Monarchy or a Commonwealth, but the Head of a Body compos'd of all the Nations in the Universe.

Had the *Spaniards*, after the Conquest of *Mexico* and *Peru*, follow'd this Plan, they would not have been oblig'd to destroy All, for the Sake of preserving All.

'Tis a Folly in Conquerors to force their own Laws and Customs on all Nations; such a Conduct is of very ill Consequence, for Men are capable of obeying under all Kinds of Government.

But as *Rome* did not impose any general Laws, the Nations did not form any dangerous Associations; they form'd one Body no otherwise than by a common Obedience; and were all *Romans* without being Countrymen.

* They did not dare to venture their Colonies in those Countries; but chose rather to raise an eternal Jealousy between the *Carthaginians* and *Massinissa*, and to make both those Powers assist them in the Conquest of *Macedonia* and *Greece*.

It perhaps will be objected, that no Empires founded on the Laws of Fiefs were ever durable or powerful. But nothing could be so contradictory as the Plan of the *Romans* and that of the *Goths*; and just to mention these Plans, the former was a Work of Strength, the latter of Weakness: In the one, Subjection was extreme, in the other, Independence: In the *Gothic* States, Power was lodged in the Vassals, and Right only in the Prince; whereas 'twas the Reverse in the *Roman* Government.

CHAPTER VII.

How it was possible for Mithridates to resist the ROMANS.

A MONG the several Kings whom the *Romans* invaded, MITHRIDATES was the only one who made a courageous Defence and expos'd them to Danger.

His Dominions were situated to wonderful Advantage for carrying on a War with them: They border'd on the inaccessible Countries of Mount *Caucasus*, peopled with savage Nations, whom that Prince could call to his Assistance; they thence extended along the Sea of *Pontus*, which *Mithridates* cover'd with his Ships, and he was incessantly purchasing new Armies of *Scythians*: *Asia* was open to his Invasions, and he was rich, because his Cities, situated on the *Pontus Euxinus*, carried on an advantageous Taffick with Nations less industrious than themselves.

Proscriptions, the Custom of which began at this Time, had forc'd several *Romans* to leave their Country. These were receiv'd by *Mithridates* with open Arms, and he form'd Legions ^{into}

³ *Frontin. Stratagem. Lib. II.* tells us, that *Archelans*, Lieutenant of *Mithridates*, engaging against *Sylla*, posted which

which he incorporated those Exiles, who prov'd the best Soldiers in his Army.

On the other side, the *Romans* disorder'd by intestine Divisions, and threatned with more imminent Dangers, neglected the Affairs of *Asia*, and suffer'd *Mithridates* to pursue his Victories, or take Breath after his Defeats.

Nothing had contributed more to the Ruin of most Kings, than the manifest Desire they shew'd for Peace: By this, they had prevented all other Nations from dividing with them a Danger, from which they were so anxious to extricate themselves: But *Mithridates* immediately made the whole World sensible, that he was an Enemy to the *Romans*, and would be so eternally.

In fine, the Cities of *Greece* and *Asia* finding the *Roman* Yoke grow more intolerable every Day, repos'd their whole Confidence in this barbarous King, who invited them to Liberty.

This Disposition of Things gave Rise to three mighty Wars, which form one of the noblest Parts of the *Roman* History, and for this Reason: We don't, on this Occasion, read of Princes already overcome by Luxury and Pride, as *Antiochus* and *Tigranes*; nor by Fear, as *Philip*, *Perseus* and *Jugurtha*; but a magnanimous King, who, in Adversity, like a Lion that gazes upon his Wounds, was fir'd with the greater Indignation upon that Account.

This Part of the *Roman* History is singular, because it abounds with perpetual and ever unexpected

in the first Rank, his Chariots arm'd with Scythes, in the second his Phalanx, in the third his Auxiliaries arm'd after the *Roman* Way; *mixtis fugitiis Italæ, quorum pervicacie multum fidebat*. *Mithridates* even made an Alliance with *Sertorius*. See also *Plutarch, Life of Lucullus*.

volutions: For as on one Side, *Mithridates* could easily recruit his Armies; it also appear'd, that in those Reveres of Fortune, in which Kings stand in greatest Need of Obedience and a strict Discipline, his Barbarian Forces forsook him: As he had the Art of enticing Nations, and stirring up Cities to Rebellion, he also was betray'd by his Captains, his Children and his Wives; in fine, as he was sometimes oppos'd by unexperienc'd *Roman* Generals, so there was sent against him, at other times, **SYLLA, LUCULLUS and POMPEY.**

This Prince, after having defeated the *Roman* Generals, and conquer'd *Asia, Macedonia* and *Greece*; having been vanquished in his turn, by *Sylla*; confin'd by a Treaty to his former Limits;カラス'd by the *Roman* Generals; become once more the Conqueror of *Asia*; drove away by *Lucullus*; purfu'd into his own Country; oblig'd to fly for Shelter to *Tigranes*, and defeated with him: Finding this Monarch irrecoverably lost, and depending merely upon himself for Succour, he took Sanctuary in his own Dominions, and re-ascended the Throne.

Lucullus was succeeded by *Pompey*, who quite overpow'r'd *Mithridates*. He then flies out of his Dominions, and crossing the *Araxes*, marches from Danger to Danger thro' the Country of the *Lazians*; and assembling in his Way all the Barbarians he met with, appear'd in the *Bosphorus* before ^b **MACCHARES** his Son, who had reconcil'd himself to the *Romans*.

Altho' plung'd in so deep an Abyss, he yet form'd a Design of making *Italy* the Seat of the

^b *Mithridates* had made him King of the *Bosphorus*, News being brought of his Father's Arrival, he dispatch'd himself.

* See *Appian, de Bello Mithridatico.*

War, and of marching to *Rome* at the Head of those Nations who enslave'd it some Years after, and by the same Way they did.

Betray'd by *Pharnaces*, another of his Sons, and by an Army terrified at the Greatness of his Enterprizes and the Perils he was going in search of, he died in a Manner worthy a King.

'Twas then that *Pompey*, in the Rapidity of his Victories, compleated the pompous Work of the *Roman* Grandeur: He united to the Body of its Empire, Countries of a boundless Extent, which, however, heightned the *Roman* Magnificence rather than increas'd its Power; and tho' it appear'd by the Titles carried in his Triumph, that he had increas'd the Revenue of the public Treasury^d above a third, there yet was no Augmentation in Power; and the public Liberty was thereby only expos'd to the greater Danger.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Divisions which always subsisted in the
CITY.

WHILST *Rome* was conquering the World, a hidden War was carrying on within its Walls: These were Fires like those of Volcano's, which break out the instant they are fed by some combustible Substance.

After the Expulsion of the Kings, the Government became Aristocratical: The Patrician Families only obtain'd all the Employments and Digni-

^d See *Plutarch* in the Life of *Pompey*; and *Zosimus*, Lib. II.

ties in the State, and consequently all ^b Honours Civil and Military.

The Patricians being determin'd to prevent, if possible, the Return of the Kings, endeavour'd to foment the restless Principle which now prevail'd in the Minds of the People; but they did more than they would willingly have done: By attempting to inspire them with a Hatred for Kings, they fir'd them with an inordinate Thirst for Liberty. As the Royal Authority had devolved entirely upon the Consuls, the People found they were far from possessing that Liberty they were taught to idolize: They therefore sought for Methods by which they might depress the Consulate; procure *Plebeian Magistrates*; and share the *Curules*, or greater Employments, with the Nobles. The Patricians were forc'd to comply with all the Demands of the People; for in a City where Poverty was the public Virtue; where Wealth, that clandestine Path to Power, was despis'd; neither Birth nor Dignities could bestow any great Advantages: It was therefore necessary for Power to fall into the Hands of the greater Number, and for Aristocracy to change by insensible Degrees into a popular State.

Those who are subordinate to a King, are less tortur'd with Envy and Jealousy than such as live under an hereditary Aristocracy: The Prince is at so great a Distance from his Subjects that he is scarce seen by them, and is rais'd so far above them, that they cannot conceive any Relation capable of giving 'em Disgust: But when the Nobles preside in a

^a The Patricians were invested, in some measure, with a sacred Character, and they only were allow'd to take the Auspices. See in *Livy*, Book VI. the Speech of *Appius Claudius*.

^b As for Instance, they alone were permitted to Triumph, since they alone could be Consuls and Generals.

State, they are expos'd to the Eyes of all Men, and are not seated so high as to prevent odious Comparisons from being made perpetually; and, indeed, the People have detested Senators, in this and in all Ages. Such Commonwealths in which Birth does not bestow any Share in the Legislature, are the happiest in this Respect; for 'tis natural that the People should not bear so much Envy to an Authority, which they bestow on whom they think proper, and resume at Will.

The People being disgusted at the Patricians, withdrew to the sacred Hill (*Mons sacer*), whether Deputies being sent, they were appeas'd: And as they all made a Promise to assist one another, in case the Patricians should not perform their^c Engagement, which would have created Seditions every Moment, and disturb'd all the Magistrates in the Exercise of their Functions; 'twas judg'd better to create an Officer,^d who might protect the People against any Injustice that shou'd be done 'em: But by a Malady for ever incident to Man, the Plebeians, who had obtain'd Tribunes merely to defend them, employ'd those very Magistrates to annoy others; so that they stript, by insensible Degrees, the Patricians of all their Privileges. This gave Rise to everlasting Contests: The People were supported, or rather animated by their Tribunes; and the Patricians were defended by the Senate, the greatest part of which consisted of Patricians, who were more inclin'd to favour the antient Maxims; and afraid that the Populace would raise some Tribune to arbitrary Power.

The People employ'd in the Defence of this Magistrate, their own Strength, and the Superiority they had in the Suffrages; their Refusal to march

^c *Zenoras*, Lib. II.

^d *Origin of the Tribunes of the People*.

the Field, their Threats to go quite away ; the Partiality of their Laws ; in fine, their Sentences pronounc'd against those who had oppos'd them too vigorously : The Senate defended themselves by their Wisdom, their Justice, and the Love they inspir'd for one's Country ; by their Beneficence, and the prudent Distribution of the Treasures of the Commonwealth ; by the Veneration which the People had for the Glory of the principal Families, and the Virtue of illustrious Personages ; by Religion itself, the antient Institutions, and the Prohibition of Days of publick Meeting, upon Pretence that the Auspices had not been favourable ; by their Clients, by the Opposition of one Tribune to another ; by the Creation of a^c Dictator, the Occupations of a new War, or the Misfortunes

^a The People had so great a Veneration for the chief Families, that altho' they had obtain'd the Privilege of creating Plebeian Military Tribunes, who were invested with the same Power as the Consuls, they nevertheless always made Choice of Patricians for this Employment. They were oblig'd to put a Constraint upon themselves, and to enact, that there should ever be a Plebeian Consul ; and when any Plebeian Families were rais'd to Employments in the State, they afterwards were always carried : 'Twas with Difficulty that the People, notwithstanding the perpetual Desire they had to depres the Nobility, depress'd them in Reality ; and when they rais'd to Honours, some Persons of mean Extraction, as *Varro* and *Marius*, it cost them very great Struggles.

^b The Patricians, to defend themselves, us'd to create a Dictator, which prov'd of the greatest Advantage to them ; but the Plebeians having obtain'd the Privilege of being elected Consuls, could also be elected Dictators, which quite disconcerted the Patricians. See in *Livy*, Lib. VIII. in what manner *Publius Philo* depress'd them in his Dictatorship. He enacted Three Laws, by which they receiv'd the highest Prejudice.

and

and Calamities which united all Parties; in a word, by a paternal Condescension, in granting the People part of their Demands, purposely to make 'em relinquish the rest; and by that steadfast Maxim, of preferring the Safety of the Republick to the Prerogatives of any Order or public Employment whatsoever.

In Process of Time, when the Plebeians had depress'd the Patricians to such a Degree, that this & Distinction of Families was empty and fruitless, and that both were indiscriminately rais'd to Honours, new Contests arose between the Populace, whom their Tribunes spirited up, and the chief Families, whether Patrician or Plebeian, which latter were styl'd Nobles, and were favour'd by the Senate that was compos'd of them: But, as the antient Manners subsisted no more; as particular Persons were possess'd of immense Wealth, and that 'tis impossible but Wealth must give Power; the Nobles made a stronger Resistance than the Patricians had done, which occasion'd the Death of the *Gracchi*, and of ^a several Persons who follow'd their Plan.

I must take Notice of an Office which contributed greatly to the happy Polity of *Rome*; 'twas that of the Censors. These number'd or survey'd the People; farther, as the Strength of the Commonwealth consisted in the Strictness of Discipline, in the Severity of Manners, and the uninterrup-

^g The Patricians referred to themselves only a few Offices belonging to the Priesthood, and the Privilege of creating a Magistrate call'd *Interrex*.

^b As *Saturninus* and *Glaucias*.

ⁱ The *Census* or Survey of the Citizens was a very prudent Institution in itself; This was the Detail of the State of their Affairs, and an Enquiry into their Power. It was founded by *Servius Tullius*, before whom, according to *Eutropius*, Book I. the *Census* was unknown.

ted Observation of certain Customs ; they corrected such Errors and Abuses as the legislative Power had not foreseen, or the ordinary Magistrate ^k could not punish. Some bad Examples are worse than Crimes, and a Violation of Manners has destroy'd more States, than the Infraction of Laws : In *Rome*, whatever might tend to introduce dangerous Novelties, to create a Change in the Minds or Affections of the Citizen, and prevent, if I may use the Expression, the Perpetuity of it ; all Disorders and Tumults, whether publick or private, were reform'd by the Censors ; these had Authority to expel whomsoever they pleas'd the Senate ; cou'd take from a Knight the Horse maintain'd for him at the publick Expence ; and degrade a Citizen to the Rank of such as contributed to the Maintenance of the Magistrates of the City, without enjoying the Privileges of it ; in a Word, the Censors took a View of the actual Situation of the Republick, and distributed the People ^l among their various

^k The Reader may see in what manner those were degraded who, after the Battle of *Canna*, were for leaving *Italy* ; those who had surrend'red to *Hannibal*, those who by an insidious and false Interpretation, had forfeited their Word.

^l The Plebeians obtain'd, in Opposition to the Patriicians, that the Laws and Elections of Magistrates should be made by the People assembled by Tribes and not by Centuries. There were Thirty five Tribes, each of whom gave its Vote ; Four belonging to the City, and Thirty one to the Country. As there were but two Professions among the *Romans* that were honourable, War and Husbandry, the Country Tribes were had in greatest Consideration ; and the four remaining ones admitted into their Body that contemptible Part of the Citizens, who having no Lands to cultivate, were, if we may say, but Citizens by halves ; the greatest Part of them did not even go to War, for in the enlisting of Soldiers

Tribes

Tribes in such a Manner, as to prevent the Tribunes and Persons of an aspiring Temper from engrossing the Suffrages, or the People from abusing their Power.

M. LIVIUS,^m censured the People themselves, and degraded Thirty four Tribes out of the Thirty five, to the Rank of those who had no Share in the Privileges of the City ; for, said this *Roman*, you first condemned me, and afterwards rais'd me to the Consulate and the Censorship ; you therefore must either have prevaricated once in punishing me, or twice, in creating me Consul and afterwards Censor.

M. DURONIUS,ⁿ Tribune of the People, was expell'd the Senate by the Censors, for having annul'd, when in Office, the Law which limits the Expences of Feasts.

The following Institution was a very wise one ; no^o Magistrate could be turn'd out of his Employ-
the Division of Centuries was observ'd ; and those who were Members of the four City Tribes, were very near the same with those who in the Division by Centuries were of the sixth Class, in which no Person was enroll'd. Thus, it was scarce possible for the Suffrages to be in the Hands of the Populace, who were confin'd to their four Tribes ; but as every one committed a thousand Frauds, for the sake of getting out of them, the Censors had an Opportunity of reforming this Abuse every five Years ; and they incorporated into any Tribe they pleas'd, not only a Citizen, but also Bodies and whole Orders. See the first Remark of Chapter XI. See also *Livy*, Lib. I. Decad. I. in which the different Divisions of the People, made by *Servius Tullius*, are very well explain'd : 'Twas the same Body of the People, but divided in various Respects.

^m *Livy*, Lib. 29.

ⁿ *Valer. Max.* Lib. 2.

^o The Dignity of Senator was not a publick Office or Employment.

ment, because that wou'd have disturb'd the Exercise of the publick Power; but they divested such a Man of his Order and Rank, and deprived, as it were, a Citizen of his particular Nobility.

The Government of *Rome* was wonderful in this Respect; ever since the Foundation of that City its Constitution was such, either from the Genius of the People, the Strength of the Senate, or the Authority of certain Magistrates, that every Abuse of Power might always be reform'd therein. *Carthage* was destroy'd, because when Abuses were to be cut away, the Citizens could not bear the Hand even of their *Hannibal*. *Athens* fell, because the Errors of the People appear'd so lovely in their own Eyes, that they wou'd not be cur'd of them: And among us, those *Italian* Republicks which boast the Perpetuity of their Government, ought to boast of nothing but the Perpetuity of their Abuses; nor indeed, do they enjoy greater Liberty ^P than *Rome* did under the *Decemviri*.

The British Government is one of the wisest in Europe, because there is a Body which examines it perpetually, and is perpetually examining it self; and its Errors are of such a Nature, as never to be lasting, but are frequently of Use by their rousing the Nation.

In a Word, a free Government, that is to say, one for ever in Motion, cannot support it self, unless its own Laws are capable of correcting the Disorders of it.

^P Nor even greater Power.

CHAPTER IX.

Two Causes which destroy'd ROME.

WHILST the Sovereignty of *Rome* was confin'd to *Italy*, 'twas easy for the Commonwealth to subsist: Every Soldier was at the same time a Citizen; every Consul rais'd an Army, and other Citizens march'd into the Field under his Successor: As their Forces were not very numerous, such Persons only were receiv'd among the Troops, as had Possessions considerable enough to engage them to labour at the Preservation of the City; the Senate kept a watchful Eye over the Conduct of the Generals, and did not give 'em an Opportunity of machinating any thing to the Prejudice of their Country.

But after the Legions had pass'd the *Alps* and cross'd the Sea, the Soldiers, whom the *Romans* had been oblig'd to leave during several Campaigns in the Countries they were subduing, lost insensibly that Genius and Turn of Mind which characteriz'd the *Roman* Citizen; and the Generals having Armies and Kingdoms at their Disposal, were sensible of their own Strength, and could no longer obey.

² The Freedmen, and such as were call'd *Capite censi*, (because, being posseſſ'd of little or nothing, they were ſubject to the Poll-Tax only) were not at firſt en-roll'd among the Land-Forces, except in caſes of urgent Neceſſity: *Servius Tullius* had rang'd 'em in the Sixth Clafs, and Soldiers were levied out of the Five firſt only: But when *Marius* ſet out againſt *Jugurtha*, he enliſted all without Diſtinction. *Milites ſcribero*, fays *Saturninus*, *non modo majorum neque ex Classibus, ſed uti cuiusque libido erat capite censos plerosque*:—*De Bello Jugurthin.*

The

The Soldiers therefore began to acknowledge no Superior but their General; to found their Hopes on him only, and to view the City as from a great Distance: They were no longer the Soldiers of the Republick, but of *Sylla*, of *Marius*, of *Pompey* and of *Cæsar*. The *Romans* could no longer tell, whether the Person who headed an Army in a Province was their General or their Enemy.

So long as the People of *Rome* were corrupted but by their Tribunes, on whom they could bestow only their Power, the Senate could easily defend themselves, because they acted consistently and with one regular Tenor; whereas the common People were continually shifting from the Extremes of Fury to the Extremes of Cowardice; but when they were enabled to invest their Favourites with a formidable exterior Authority, the whole Wisdom of the Senate was baffled, and the Commonwealth was undone.

The Reason why Free-States are not so permanent as other Forms of Government, is, because the Misfortunes and Successes which happen to them, generally occasion the Loss of Liberty; whereas the Successes and Misfortunes of an arbitrary Government, contribute equally to the enslaving of the People. A wise Republick ought not to run any Hazard which may expose it to good or ill Fortune; the only Happiness the several Individuals of it should aspire after, is, to give Perpetuity to their State.

If the unbounded Extent of the *Roman* Empire prov'd the Ruin of the Republick, the vast Compass of the City was no less fatal to it.

The *Romans* had subdued the whole Universe by the Assistance of the Nations of *Italy*, on whom they had bestowed various Privileges at different Times; most of those Nations did not, at first, set any great Value on the Freedom of the City of *Rome*,

Rome, and some ^b chose rather to preserve their ancient Usages; but when this Privilege became that of universal Sovereignty; when a Man, who was not a *Roman Citizen*, was consider'd as nothing; and, with this Title, was all Things, the People of *Italy* resolv'd either to be *Romans*, or die: Not being able to obtain this by Cabals and Intreaties, they had Recourse to Arms; and ^c rising in all that part of *Italy* opposite to the *Ionian Sea*, the rest of the Allies were going to follow their Example. *Rome* being now forc'd to combat against those who were, if I may be allow'd the Figure, the Hands with which they shackled the Universe, was upon the Brink of Ruin: The *Romans* were going to be confin'd merely to their Walls; they therefore granted this so much wish'd-for ^d Privilege, to Allies, who had not yet been wanting in Fidelity; and they indulg'd it, by insensible Degrees, to all other Nations.

But now *Rome* was no longer that City, the Inhabitants of which had breath'd one and the same Spirit, the same Love for Liberty, the same Hatred of Tyranny; a City, in which a Jealousy of the Power of the Senate and of the Prerogatives of the

^b The *Aequi* said in their Assemblies, Those in whose Power it was to chuse, have preferred their own Laws to the Freedom of the City of *Rome*, which was a necessary Penalty upon such as could not refuse it. *Liv. Lib. IX.*

^c The *Asculani*, the *Marfi*, the *Vestini*, the *Marrucini*, the *Ferentinates*, the *Hirpini*, the *Pompeians*, the *Venusini*, the *Japiges*, the *Lucani*, the *Samnites* and other Nations. *Appian, de Bello civil. Lib. I.*

^d The *Tuscans*, the *Umbri*, the *Latins*. This prompted some Nations to submit themselves; and as these were also made Citizens, others likewise laid down their Arms, so that at last there remained only the *Samnites*, who were extirpated.

Great, (ever accompany'd with Respect,) was only a Love of Equality. The Nations of *Italy* ^c being made Citizens of *Rome*, every City brought thither its Genius, its particular Interests, and its Dependance on some mighty Protector: *Rome* being now rent and divided, no longer form'd one entire Body; and as Men were no longer Citizens of it, but in a kind of fictitious Way; as there were no longer the same Magistrates, the same Walls, the same Gods, the same Temples, the same Burying-places; *Rome* was no longer beheld with the same Eyes; the Citizens were no longer fir'd with the same Love for their Country, and the *Roman* Sentiments were obliterated.

Cities and Nations were now invited to *Rome* by the Ambitious, to disconcert the Suffrages, or influence them in their own Favour; the publick Assemblies were so many Conspiracies against the State, and a tumultuous Crowd of seditious Wretches were dignified with the Title of *Comitia*. The Authority of the People and their Laws, nay that People themselves, were no more than so many Chimæras, and so universal was the Anarchy of those Times, that it was not possible to determine whether the People had made a Law or not.

Authors enlarge very copiously on the Divisions which prov'd the Destruction of *Rome*, but their Readers seldom discover those Divisions to have been always necessary and inevitable. The Grandeur of the Republick was the only Source of that Calamity, and exasperated popular Tumults into Civil Wars. Diffensions were not to

^c Let the Reader figure to himself this monstrous Head, form'd of all the Nations of *Italy*, which, by the Suffrage of every Individual, govern'd the rest of the World.

be prevented, and those martial Spirits, which were so fierce and formidable abroad, could not be habituated to any considerable Moderation at home. Those who expect in a free State, to see the People undaunted in War and pusillanimous in Peace, are certainly desirous of Impossibilities, and it may be advanced as a general Rule, that when ever a perfect Calm is visible, in a State that calls it self a Republick, the Spirit of Liberty no longer subsists.

Union, in a Body Politick, is a very equivocal Term : True Union is such a Harmony as makes all the particular Parts, as opposite as they may seem to us, concur to the general Welfare of the Society, in the same Manner as Discords in Musick contribute to the general Melody of Sound. Union may prevail in a State full of seeming Commotions ; or, in other Words, there may be an Harmony from whence results Prosperity, which alone is true Peace, and may be consider'd in the same View, as the various Parts of this Universe, which are eternally connected by the Operations of some and the Reactions of others.

In a Despotic State indeed, which is every Government where the Power is immoderately exerted, a real Division is perpetually kindled. The Peasant, the Soldier, the Merchant, the Magistrate and the Grandee have no other Conjunction than what arises from the Ability of the one to oppress the other, without Resistance ; and if at any time a Union happens to be introduced, Citizens are not then united, but dead Bodies are laid in the Grave contiguous to each other.

It must be acknowledged that the *Roman* Laws were too weak to govern the Republick : But Experience has prov'd it to be an invariable

ble Fact, that good Laws which raise the Reputation and Power of a small Republick, become incommodious to it, when once its Grandeur is establish'd, because it was their natural Effect to make a great People, but not to govern them.

The Difference is very considerable between good Laws, and those which may be called convenient; between such Laws as give a People Dominion over others, and such as continue them in the Possession of Power, when they have once acquir'd it.

There is at this time a Republick ^f in the World, of which few Persons have any Knowledge, and which, by Plans accomplish'd in Silence and Secrecy, is daily enlarging its Power. And certain it is, that if it ever rises to that Height of Grandeur for which it seems preordain'd by its Wisdom, it must inevitably change its Laws, and the necessary Innovations will not be effected by any Legislator, but must spring from Corruption it self.

Rome was founded for Grandeur, and its Laws ^g had an admirable Tendency to bestow it; for which Reason, in all the Variations of her Government, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Popular, she constantly engag'd in Enterprizes which requir'd Conduct to accomplish,

^f The Canton of *Bern*.

^g The *Roman* Government has been thought defective by some, because it was an Intermixture of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and popular Authority. But the Perfection of a Government does not consist in its Conformity to any particular Plan to be found in the Writings of Politicians, but in its Correspondence to the Views every Legislator ought to entertain for the Grandeur and Felicity of a People. Was not the Government of *Sparta* composed of Three Branches?

and always succeeded. The Experience of a Day did not furnish her with more Wisdom than all other Nations, but she obtain'd it by a long Succession of Events. She sustain'd a small, a moderate, and an immense Fortune with the same Superiority, derived true Welfare from the whole Train of her Prosperities, and refined every Instance of Calamity into beneficial Instructions.

She lost her Liberty, because she compleated her Work too soon.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Corruption of the ROMANS.

I AM of Opinion that the Sect of *Epicurus* which began to be propagated at *Rome*, towards the Close of the Republic, was very prejudicial to the Minds and Genius of the People^a. The *Greeks* has been infatuated with its Doctrines long before, and consequently, were corrupted much earlier than the *Romans*. We are assured by *Polybius*,^b that Oaths, in his Time,

^a *Cyneas* having discoursed of the Doctrines of this Sect, at the Table of *Pyrrhus*, *Fabričius* said, he wish'd the Enemies of *Rome* would all embrace such kind of Principles. *Life of Pyrrhus*.

^b If you lend a Talent to a *Greek*, and bind him to the Repayment, by Ten Engagements, with as many Securities and Witnesses to the Loan, it is impossible to make them regard their Word; whereas, among the *Romans*, whether it be owing to their Obligation of accounting for the publick and private Money, they are always punctual to the Oaths they have taken. For which Reason, the Apprehensions of infernal Torments were wisely established, and it is altogether irrational to oppose them at this Time. *Polyb. L. VI.*

could not induce any Person to place Confidence in a *Greek*, whereas they were consider'd by a *Roman* as inviolable Obligations upon his Conscience.

There is a Passage in one of *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, which manifestly discovers how much the *Romans* had degenerated in this Particular, since the Time of *Polybius*.

Memmius, says he, imparted to the Senate the Agreement he and his Fellow Candidate had made with the Consuls, by which these stipulated to favour the others in their Sollicitations for the Consulship the ensuing Year ; and these oblig'd themselves to pay Four hundred thousand Sesterces to the Consuls, if they did not furnish them with Three Augurs, who should declare they themselves were present when the People made the *Curiatian Law*,^d, tho' in reality it had not been enacted ; and Two former Consuls, who should affirm they had assissted at signing the Edict of the Senate which regulated the State of the Provinces assigned to the present Consuls, notwithstanding no such Edict was in Being. What an admirable Set of People do we discover in a single Contract !

As Religion always furnishes the best Security for the Rectitude of human Actions, so there was this Peculiarity among the *Romans*, that the Love they express'd for their Country, was blended with some particular Sentiment of Devotion. That mighty City, founded in the most auspicious Pe-

^c Lib. IV. let. 18.

^d The *Curiatian Law* dispos'd of the military Power, and the Edict of the Senate regulated the Troops, the Money and Officers, that were to be allotted to the Governors : Now the Consuls, in order to accomplish these Particulars, to their own Satisfaction, contriv'd a false Law and a false Edict of the Senate,

riod ; the Great *Romulus*, at once their Monarch and their God ; the Capitol, esteem'd as eternal as the City, and the City, reputed as eternal as its Founder, had antiently struck such Impressions on the Minds of the *Romans*, as might well be wish'd to have been constantly retained.

The Grandeur of the State, in general, constituted the Greatnes of its particular Members ; but as Affluence consists in Conduct, and not in Riches ; that Wealth of the *Romans*, which had certain Limitations, introduced a Luxury and Profusion which had no Bounds. Those who had been at first corrupted by their Oppulence, receiv'd the same Taint in their Poverty, by aspiring after Acquisitions, that no-way comported with private Life ; it was difficult to be a good Citizen, under the Influence of strong Desires and the Regret of a large Fortune that had been lost : People, in this Situation, were prepar'd for any desperate Attempt ; and as *Salust* ^e says, there was, at that time, a Generation of Men, who, as they had no Patrimony of their own, could not endure to see others less necessitous than themselves.

But as great soever as the Corruption of *Rome* might then be, all its calamitous Effects were not introduc'd among the People, for the Efficacy of those Institutions, by which they were originally establish'd, was so extraordinary, that they always preserved an heroic Fortitude, and devoted themselves, with the greatest Application, to War, amidst all the Softenings of Luxury and Pleasure ; which seems, to me, to be a Circumstance, in which they were never imitated by any Nation in the World.

^e Ut merito dicatur genitos esse, qui nec ipsi habere possent vos familiares, nec alios pati. Fragment of *Salust* cited by *Augustin* in his Book Of the City of God, L. II. c. 18.

The Romans were not solicitous to improve Commerce, or cultivate the Sciences, but ranked them among the Attentions proper for Slaves^f; we may except, indeed, some particular Persons, who had receiv'd their Freedom, and perfisted in their former Industry. But their Knowledge, in general, was confin'd to the Art of War, which was the only Track^g by which they could arrive at Promotions in the Magistracy, and other Stations of Honour; for which Reason, their military Virtues subsisted after all the rest were extinguished.

CHAPTER XI.

Of SYLLA, POMPEY and CÆSAR.

I Intreat the Reader's Permission to turn my Eyes from the Horrors of the Wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*; *Appian* has collected all the dreadful Particulars into his History: Besides the Jealousy, Ambition and Barbarity of the two Chiefs, each particular *Roman* was infatuated with Fury; the new Citizens^h,

^f Cic. L. I. c. 42. Offic. *Illiberales & sordidi quæstus Mercenariorum omnium quorum operæ, non quorum artes emuntur: est enim illis ipsa merces auctoramentum servitatis.* The Merchants, adds that Author, raise no Profit, unless they falsify their Word. Agriculture is the noblest of all Arts, and most worthy of a Man in a State of Freedom.

^g They were oblig'd to serve Ten Years, between the Age of Sixteen Years and Forty Seven. *Polyb.* L. VI.

^h *Marius*, in order to obtain a Commission for carrying on the War against *Mithridates*, in Prejudice of *Sylla*'s Pretensions, had, by the Concurrence of *Sulpicius* the Tribune, incorporated the Eight new Tribes of the People of *Italy*, into the antient, which rendred the *Italians* Masters of the Suffrages; and the Generality of that People espoused the Party of *Marius*, whilst the

and the antient, no longer consider'd each other as Members of the same Republick, but gave a Loose to a Series of Hostilities, so peculiar in their Nature, as to comprehend all the Miseries of a Civil and Foreign War.

Sylla made several good Laws, and reduced the Power of the Tribunes; to which we may add, that the Moderation or Caprice which induced him to resign the Dictatorship, re-established the Senate, for some time; but, in the Fury of his Success, he suffer'd himself to be hurried into two Actions, which, in their Consequences, made it impossible for *Rome* to preserve her Liberty.

He distributed ^b the Lands of the Citizens among his Soldiers, and, by that Proceeding, corrupted them for ever; because, from that Moment, there was not one of the military Profession who did not wait for an Opportunity of seizing the Effects of his Fellow-Citizens.

He was likewise the Inventor of Proscriptions, and set a Price on the Head of every Man who had not embraced his Party. From that time, it became impossible for any one to be devoted to the Republick; for whilst two ambitious Men were contending for Superiority, those who observ'd a Neutrality, or were attach'd to the Cause of Liberty, were sure to be proscrib'd by either of the Competitors who should prove victorious; it therefore became prudent to engage in one of the two Parties.

As the Republick was fated to Destruction, the only material Question was, who should have the Credit of overwhelming it.

Senate and the antient Citizens engag'd in the Interest of Sylla.

^b At the Beginning of the Wars, the Lands of the vanquish'd Enemies were parcel'd among the Army, but Sylla made the same Division of those which belong'd to the Citizens.

Two Men equally ambitious, with this Exception, that the one knew how to proceed directly to his Purpose better than the other, eclipsed, by their Reputation, their Exploits and their Virtues, all the rest of the Citizens. *Pompey* made the first Appearance in the Scene of Action, and *Cæsar* immediately follow'd him.

POMPEY, to render himself popular, had disannulled the Laws of *Sylla*, which limited the Power of the People, and when he had sacrificed the most salutary Laws of his Country, to his particular Ambition, he obtain'd all he desired, and the rash Indiscretion of the Populace was altogether unbounded in his Favour.

The *Roman* Laws had wisely parcell'd out the public Power into several Magistracies, which mutually supported as well as restrained and tempered each other; and as the Power of all, who enjoy'd those Promotions, was confin'd to a proper Extent, every Citizen was qualify'd for a Station of that Nature; and the People, seeing Numbers of such Persons passing away in Succession, were not habituated to any particular Magistrate among them. But, in the Times we are now describing, the Plan of Government was changed; the most potent Competitors obtain'd extraordinary Commissions from the People, which annihilated the Authority of the Magistrates, and drew all the great Affairs into the Hands of one Man, or a Few.

Was War to be proclaim'd against *Sertorius*? *Pompey* was nominated to command the Army. Were the *Romans* to march against *Mithridates*? Every Voice call'd aloud for *Pompey*. Did it become necessary to transmit Corn to *Rome*? The People would have given it over for lost, had not *Pompey* been entrusted with the Importation. Were the Pyrates to be destroy'd? Who so proper for that Expedition as *Pompey*? And when *Cæsar* himself threatened

threatned *Rome* with an Invasion, the Senators cried out, in their Turn, and placed all their Confidence in *Pompey*.

I am willing to believe (said *Marcus* ^c to the People) that this *Pompey*, who is so much careſſ'd by the Nobility, is more inclinable to ſecure your Liberty, than he is to countenance their Authority over you: But there was a Time, when each Individual among you was protected by ſeveral, and not the whole Body of the People by one Person; and when it was never known, that a ſingle Man either gave or took away Things of ſo much Conſequence.

As *Rome* was form'd for Grandeur, it became neceſſary to unite the Honours and Power in the ſame Persons, which in unquiet Times would fix the Admiration of the People on one particular Citizen.

When Honours are granted, the Givers know exacdy what they beſtow; but when Power is added to the Donation, they can never be cer- tain how far it will be extended.

Immoderate Preferences given to a Citizen, in a Republick, are always productive of neceſſary Effects; they either raiſe Envy in the People, or make their Affection overflow all Bounds.

When *Pompey* returned twice to *Rome*, in a Condition to enſlave the Republick, he had the Moderation to diſband his Armies, before he entered the City; and then he made his Appearance with the Air of a common Citizen: These Inſtances of a diſinterested Behaviour, which compleated all his Glory, did not fail, in their Conſequences, to make the Senate always declare in his Favour, when ever he attempted any Thing prejudicial to the Laws.

^c Fragment of *Salust*.

The Ambition of *Pompey* was more unactive and gentle than that of *Cæsar*. This Warriour resolved like *Sylla*, to open himself a Passage to sovereign Power, by Arms, but *Pompey* grew displeased at such a Method of Oppression; he aspired, indeed, to the Dictatorship, but was willing to owe it to the Suffrages of the People; he could not resolve to usurp Power, but would have been glad to have had it tendered to him as a Gift.

As the Favour of the People is always in a fluctuating State, there were some Seasons, wherein *Pompey* beheld his Reputation in a declining Condition; ^d and it affected him in the most tender Part, to see the very Persons he despised, make Advances in Popularity, and then employ it against him.

This led him into three Actions equally fatal; he corrupted the People with Money, and fixed a Price, in the Elections, on the Suffrage of each Citizen.

He employed the vilest of the Populace to incommod the Magistrates, in the Exercise of their Functions, in Hopes, that wise People, growing weary of living in a State of Anarchy, would be urged by Despair to create him Dictator.

In a Word, he united his Interests, with those of *Cæsar* and *Crassus*: *Cato* said, their Union and not their Enmity destroyed the Republick; and in Reality, it was then reduced to such an unhappy State, that it received less Injury from civil Wars than by a Peace which, as it conjoined the Views and Interests of the leading Men, so it naturally introduced Tyranny in the Government.

^d See *Plutarch*.

Pompey did not properly lend his Reputation to *Cæsar*, but sacrificed it to his Cause, without knowing what he did ; and *Cæsar*, in return, employed all the Power he had received from Pompey to the Prejudice of the Donor, and even played off his own Artifices against him : He disordered the City by his Emissaries ; he made himself Master of all Elections ; and Consuls, Praetors and Tribunes purchased their Promotions, at their own Price.

The Senate, who easily penetrated into *Cæsar's* Designs, had Recourse to Pompey, and intreated him to undertake the Defence of the Republick, if that Name might properly be given to a Government which implored Protection of one of its Citizens.

I am of Opinion, that what contributed most to Pompey's Destruction, was the Shame that affected him, when he grew sensible that by raising *Cæsar* as he had done, he had committed a fatal Oversight ; but he suffered this Consideration to prevail as late as possible, and did not prepare for his Defence, lest he should be obliged to acknowledge himself in Danger. He asserted before the Senate that *Cæsar* durst not engage in a War, and because he had made such a Declaration several Times, he always persisted in repeating it.

One Circumstance seems to have capacitated *Cæsar* for any undertaking, and that was the unhappy Conformity of Names ; the Senate had added to his Government of the *Cisalpine Gaul*, all that Part of *Gaul* which was distinguished by the Name of *Transalpine*.

As the Politicks of those Times did not permit Armies to be stationed near *Rome*, so neither would they suffer *Italy* to be entirely destitute of Troops ; for which Reason, consider-

rable Forces were quartered in *Cisalpine Gaul*, a Country which extends from the *Rubicon*, a little River in *Romania*, to the *Alps*: But in Order to secure the City of *Rome* against those Troops, the Senate passed that famous Edict, which is still to be seen engraven, in the Road near *Rimini*, by which they solemnly devoted to the infernal Gods, and branded with Sacrilege and Parricide any Person whatever, who should presume to pass the *Rubicon*, with an Army, a Legion, or a single Cohort.

To a Government of that Importance as to keep the City in awe, another was added which proved still more considerable, and that was all the *Transalpine Gaul*, which comprehended the Southern Parts of *France*, where *Cæsar* had for several Years an Opportunity of prosecuting War against as many Nations as he pleased; by which means his Soldiers advanced in Years as well as himself, and were conquered by him, in their Turn, as well as the *Barbarians*. Had *Cæsar* not been intrusted with the Government of *Transalpine Gaul*, he could not have corrupted his Troops, nor rendered his Name venerable to them by so many Victories; and had he not enjoyed *Cisalpine Gaul*, *Pompey* might have stopp'd him at the Pass of the *Alps*, whereas he was compelled to retire from *Italy*, when the War began, which made him lose among his own Party that Reputation which, in Civil Wars, is the very Soul of Power.

The same Consternation, which *Hannibal* diffused through *Rome*, after the Battle of *Canna*, was spread by *Cæsar* over all that City, when he had passed the *Rubicon*. *Pompey*, was so confounded, that he became incapable, even in the first Moments of the War, of forming any Design but such as is usually suggested in the most desperate

desperate Conjunctions. He could only retire, and trust to Flight. Accordingly he left *Rome* and the publick Treasure; and as he was in no Condition to retard the Conqueror, he forsook Part of his Troops, abandoned all *Italy* and crossed the Sea.

Cæsar's Fortune has been greatly celebrated; but this extraordinary Man enjoyed so many great Qualities, without the Intermixture of a Defect, tho' he had several vicious Inclinations, that he would have been victorious at the Head of any Army he had commanded, and would have governed in any Republick that had given him Birth.

When he had defeated *Pompey's* Lieutenants in *Spain*, he passed into *Grecce* to seek *Pompey* himself; and this General, who had possessed himself of the Sea Coasts, and was Master of a superior Force, was on the Point of beholding *Cæsar's* Army destroyed by Misery and Famine. But as the Desire of Approbation was his predominant Frailty he could not forbear giving Attention to some vain Speeches ^c of those about him, who were perpetually blaming his Conduct, and mortifying him with their Jeits. This General, says one, would perpetuate his Command, and be a new King of Kings, like *Agamemnon*: I assure you, replies another, we shall not eat any *Tusculum* Figs this Year. A few Encounters in which he had succeeded, quite intoxicated the Heads of this Senatorial Host; and *Pompey*, to avoid Censure, gave into an Indiscretion which Posterity will ever blame; he resolved to sacrifice all the Advantages he had then obtain'd, and marched at the Head of undisciplined Troops to engage an Army that had been so frequently victorious.

^c See *Plutarch's Life of Pompey*.

80 Of the GRANDEUR and

When the shattered Remains of *Pharsalia*, were withdrawn into *Africa*, *Scipio*, who then commanded them, refused to follow *Cato's* Advice for protracting the War. He grew elated with a few Instances of Success; he risk'd all, and immediately lost all he had risk'd; and when *Brutus* and *Cassius* re-established that Party, the same Precipitation destroyed the Republick a third Time^f.

'Tis observable, that in the long Course of these Civil Wars, the Power of *Rome* was continually extending in foreign Parts, under *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, *Anthony*, and *Augustus*; and that mighty City growing daily more formidable, compleated the Destruction of all the Kings who presumed to resist her.

No State threatens its Neighbours with Conquest, so much as that which is involved in the Horrors of Civil War: In such a Season, the Nobility, the Citizens, the Artisans, the Peasants, and, in short, the whole Body of the People become Soldiers; and when Peace has united all the contending Parties, this State enjoys great Advantages over others, whose Subjects are generally Citizens. Besides, Civil Wars always produce great Men, because in the universal Confusion which then reigns, those who are distinguished by any particular Merit, have a favourable Opportunity of making themselves conspicuous: Each of these Persons ranges himself in a suitable Situation, whereas, in Times of Peace, they are stationed by others, and generally very injudiciously. We shall pass from the *Romans*, and inquire for Instances of this

^f This is well cleared up in *Appian's History of the Civil War*. l. 4. The Army of *Octavius* and *Anthony* would have perished by Famine, if their Enemies had not given them Battle.

Truth, in Nations that are more modern; and among these, *France* was never so formidable abroad, as after the Contentions between the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, after the Troubles of the League, after the Civil Wars in the Minority of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, and after the national Dissensions in the Nonage of *Lewis* the Fourteenth. *England* was never so much respected as in the Time of *Cromwell*, after the Wars of the long Parliament. The *Germans* did not gain their Superiority over the *Turks*, till after the Civil Wars of the Empire. The *Spaniards*, under *Philip* the Fifth, and immediately after the Civil Wars that were kindled by the Succession, invaded *Sicily* with such a Force as astonished all *Europe*; and we now see the *Perians* rising from the Ashes of a Civil War, and humbling the *Ottoman* Power.

In a Word, the Republick was at last enslaved, and we are not to charge that Calamity on the Ambition of particular Persons, but should rather impute it to the Disposition of Man in general, whose Cravings after Power, are always most insatiable, when he enjoys the greatest Share, and who only desires the whole, because he possesses a large Part.

If the Sentiments of *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had resembled those of *Cato*, others would have had the same ambitious Thoughts as *Pompey* and *Cæsar* discovered; and since the Republick was fated to fall, it would have been dragged to the Precipice by some other Hand.

Cæsar pardon'd every mortal; but the Moderation People discover when they have usurped all, seems to be no extraordinary Accomplishment.

Tho' he has been much commended for being indefatigable, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, yet *Cicero*, very justly, accuses him of Remissness.

He tells *Cassius*^g they never could have imagined Pompey's Party would have revived so considerably in Spain and Africa; and that if they could have foreseen that *Cæsar* would have amused himself in his Alexandrian War, they would not have made their Peace with him as they did, but would have followed *Scipio* and *Cato* into Africa. And thus a weak Passion for a Woman made him engage in four Wars, and by not foreseeing the two last, he hazarded all he had gained at Pharsalia.

Cæsar governed at first, with the Titles of the Magistracy, for nothing affects Mankind more than Names; and as the *Aziaticks* abhorred those of Consul and Proconsul, the *Europeans* detested that of King; so that those Titles constituted at that time, the Happiness or Despair of all the Earth. He made some Overtures to have the Diadem placed on his Head; but when he grew sensible that the People discontinued their Acclamations, he thought fit to reject it. He likewise made other Attempts,^h and it is not to be comprehended, how he could believe that the *Romans*, because they suffered him to be a Tyrant, should be fond of Tyrannical Power, or could even give Credit to what they themselves had done.

One Day, when the Senate tendered him some particular Honours, he neglected to rise from his Seat, and, from that Moment, the gravest Members of that Body lost all Patience.

Mankind are always most offended at any Trespass on the Ceremonials and Punctilioes they expect. If you endeavour to oppress them, it sometimes passes for a Proof of the Esteem you entertain for them, but a Violation of their Decorums is always an Instance of Contempt.

^g Familiar Letters, l. 15.

^h He abolished the Office of Tribunes of the People.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, who was a constant Enemy to the Senate, could not conceal the mean Opinion he entertained of that Body, who had almost rendered themselves ridiculous¹, when they were no longer in Possession of Power: For which Reason even his Clemency was an Insult, and it became evident that he only pardoned because he scorned to punish.

We may see, in the Letters^k, of some Great Men of that Time, though they pass'd under *Cicero's* Name, because most of them were written by him, into what Dejection and Despair Persons of the first Rank in the Republick, were sunk by this sudden Revolution, which divested them of their Honours, and even their Employments; when the Senate having no longer any Functions to perform, that Reputation they had acquired through all the World, was now to be dispensed from the Cabinet of one Man. This State of Affairs appears in a much better Light in those Letters, than in any Relations of Historians, and they are the most masterly Representation of the ingenuous Turn of Mind of a set of People united by a common Affliction, and give us a compleat Portrait of an Age wherein a false Po-

ⁱ *Cæsar* formed the Edicts of the Senate himself, and subscribed them with the Names of the first Senators he happened to think on: *Cicero*, in the ninth Book of his familiar Letters, writes to this Effect. I having been sometimes informed that an Edict of the Senate passed by my Consent, has been transmitt'd to *Syria* and *Armenia*, before I had any Knowledge that it was made, and several Princes have sent me Letters of Acknowledgment for my Consent, to allow them the Title of Kings, when at the same time, I was so far from knowing them to be Kings, till that Moment, that I even had not heard there were any such Persons in the World.

^k See the Letters of *Cicero* and *Servius Sulpicius*.
litenels

litenes had not infected all Society with Infidelity and Untruth. In a Word, they are not written, like our modern Letters, with a View to deceive, but are the faithful Intercourse of Friends, who communicated all they knew.

It was hardly possible for *Cæsar*, in his Situation, to preserve his Life: The Generality of the Conspirators against him, were of his Party¹, or had received many great Obligations from him, and the Reason of their Intention to assassinate him, is very natural; they had gain'd signal Advantages by his Conquest, but the more their Fortune improved, the greater was their Share of the common Calamity; and to those who have not any thing they can properly call their own, it seems in some Particulars, to be of little Consequence under what Government they live.

Besides, there was a certain Law of Nations, or a settled Opinion which prevailed in all the Republicks of *Greece* and *Italy*, and ascribed the Character of a virtuous Man to the Person who should assassinate any one who had usurped the sovereign Power. *Rome* had been extremely fond of this Notion, ever since the Expulsion of her Kings; the Law was very expres; the Examples had a general Approbation; the Republick put a Sword into the Hand of every Citizen, constituted him their Magistrate for a few Moments, and acknowledged him for their Defender.

Brutus^m was bold enough to tell his Friends, that should his own Father return from the Grave, he would sacrifice him to the publick Good, with

¹ *Decimus Brutus, Caius Casca, Trebonius, Tullius Cimber, Minutius Bafileius* were *Cæsar's Friends*. *Appian. de bello civili. l. 2.*

^m See the Letter of *Brutus* in the Collection of *Cicero's Letters*.

as little Remorse as he stabb'd *Cæsar*; and tho' by the Continuance of Tyranny, this surprizing Spirit of Liberty had gradually lost its Vigour, yet the Conspiracies, at the beginning of *Augustus's* Reign, were perpetually reviving.

The antient *Romans* were animated by a predominant Love for their Country, which acting by a Variation from the common Ideas of Crimes and Virtues, was only attentive to its own Dictates, and in the Fervours of its Operation, entirely disregarded Friends and Citizens, Fathers and Benefactors. Virtue seemed to have forgotten her own Precepts, with a Resolution to surpass herself, and when an Action seemed too severe to be immediately considered with Approbation, she soon caused it to be admired as divine.

In a Word, did not the Guilt of *Cæsar*, who lived in a free Government, consist in placing himself out of the reach of all Punishments but an Assassination? And when we ask why he was not opposed by open Force, or the Power of the Laws, do we not at the same Time demand Satisfaction for his Crimes?

CHAPTER XII.

*Observations on the State of ROME after the
Death of Cæsar.*

SO impossible was it for the Republick to accomplish its Re-establishment, that a Conjunction then happened which was never known before ; there was no longer any Tyrant, and yet Liberty was extinguished ; for the Causes which had contributed to its Destruction, still subsisted to prevent its Revival.

The *Affassins* had only formed the Plan of a Conspiracy, but had not taken any Measures to render it effectual in the Event.

When they had struck the Blow, they all retired to the Capitol ; the Senate forbore to assemble, and the next Day *Lepidus*, who was fond of Commotions, took Possession of the *Forum*, with a Band a Soldiers at his Devotion.

The *Veteran* Troops, who were apprehensive that the immense Donations they had received, would be no longer repeated, had marched into *Rome* : This Proceeding compelled the Senate to approve all the Acts of *Cæsar*, and then, by a Faculty of reconciling Extremes, they granted a general Amnesty to the Conspirators, which produced a false Appearance of Peace.

Cæsar, a little before his Death, whilst he was preparing for his Expedition against the *Parthians*, had appointed Magistrates for several Years, that he might secure himself a Set of Men who, in his Absence, would maintain the Tranquillity of his Government ; so that, after his Death, the Party who had espoused his Interest, were in a Condition to support themselves for a considerable Time.

As

As the Senate had ratified all the Acts of *Cæsar* without any Restriction, and as the Consuls were intrusted with their Execution, *Anthony* who was then one of those Magistrates, got Possession of *Cæsar's* Book of Accounts, gained upon his Secretary, and made him insert, in that Book all the Articles he thought proper, by which means the Dictator reigned more imperiously than when he was living; for what he could not accomplish himself, *Anthony* had the Dexterity to effect; great Sums of Money, which *Cæsar* had never bestowed, were distributed among the People by *Anthony*, and every Man, who had any seditious Designs against the Government, was sure to find a sudden Gratuity in *Cæsar's* Books.

It unfortunately happened that *Cæsar*, to make his Expedition effectual, had amass'd prodigious Sums, and deposited them in the Temple of *Ops*; *Anthony* dispos'd of these as he thought fit, by the Instrumentality of his Book.

The Conspirators had, at first, determin'd to cast the Body of *Cæsar* into the *Tyber*ⁿ, and might have executed that Design without any Interruption for in those Seasons of Astonishment which succeed unexpected Events, every Intention becomes practicable: This however did not take Effect, and we shall now relate what happened on that Occasion.

The Senate thought themselves under a Necessity of permitting *Cæsar's* Funeral Obsequies to be perform'd; and indeed they could not decently forbid them, as they had never declar'd him a Tyrant. Now the *Romans*, in Conformity to a Custom esta-

ⁿ That Action would not have been unprecedented; for when *Tiberius Gracchus* was slain, *Lucretius* the E-dile, who was afterwards called *Vespillo*, threw his Body into the *Tyber*. *Aurel. Victor. de Viris illust.*

blish'd among them, and much boasted of by *Polybius*, always carried, in their Funeral Proceſſions, the Images, which represented the Ancestors of the Deceas'd, and made an Oration over the Body. *Anthony*, who charg'd himself with this last Province, unfolded the bloody Robe of *Cæſar* to the View of all the People, read to them the Particulars of his Will, in which he had left them extraordinary Legacies, and then wrought them into such violent Emotions, that they immediately fired the Houses of the Conſpirators.

Cicero, who govern'd the Senate in this whole Affair^o, makes no Scruple to acknowledge that it would have been much better to have proceeded with Vigour, and even to have expos'd themselves to Destruction, tho' indeed it was not probable that such a Fate would have attended them; but he alledges for his Excuse, that as the Senate was then assembled, they had no Opportunity in their Favour; and he adds, that those who are ſenſible of the Importance even of a Moment, in Affairs wherein the People have ſo conſiderable a Part, will not be surpriz'd at his Conduct in that Transaction.

Another Accident happen'd at this time; for when the People were celebrating Funeral Games in Honour to *Cæſar*, a Comet with long flaming Hair, appear'd for the Space of seven Days, which made them believe the Soul of *Cæſar* was receiv'd into Heaven.

It was very customary for the People of *Greece* and *Asia*, to erect Temples^p to the Kings, and even the Proconsuls who had govern'd them; and they

^o Letters to *Atticus*, Lib. XIV. c. 6.

^p See more on this Subject, in the Letters of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, L. V. and the Remark of the *Abbé de Mongaut*.

were indulg'd in this Practice, because it was the greatest Evidence they could possibly give of their abject Servitude. Nay the *Romans* themselves might, in their private Temples where their *Lares* were deposited, render divine Honours to their Ancestors ; but I cannot remember, that from the Time of *Romulus* to *Julius Cæsar*, any *Roman*⁹ was ever rank'd among the Gods of the Republick.

The Government of *Macedonia* was assign'd to *Anthony*, but he was desirous of changing it for that of *Gaul*, and the Motives which so induced him are very evident : *Decimus Brutus*, who govern'd *Cisalpine Gaul*, having refused to resign that Province to *Anthony*, he was resolv'd to deprive him of it by Force. This produc'd a civil War, in which the Senate declar'd *Anthony* an Enemy to his Country.

Cicero, to accomplish the Destruction of *Anthony* his mortal Enemy, was so injudicious as to employ all his Interest for the Promotion of *Octavius*, and instead of defacing the Idea of One *Cæsar* in the Minds of the People, he placed Two before their Eyes.

Octavius, in his Conduct to *Cicero*, acted like a Man who knew the World ; he flatter'd, he prais'd, he consulted him, and employ'd every engaging Artifice, which Vanity never distrusts.

Great Affairs are frequently disconcerted, because those who undertake them seldom confine their Expectations to the principal Event, but look after some little particular Success which sooths the indulgent Opinion they entertain of themselves.

I am inclin'd to think, that if *Cato* had reserv'd himself for the Republick, he would have given a

⁹ *Dion* relates that the *Triumviri*, who all expected the same Deification, took all imaginable Care to enlarge the Honours paid to *Cæsar*.

very different Turn to Affairs. *Cicero* had extraordinary Abilities for the Second Class, but was incapable of the First. His Genius was fine, but his Soul seldom soar'd above the Vulgar. His Characteristic was Virtue; that of *Cato* Glory¹. *Cicero* always beheld himself in the First Rank; *Cato* never allow'd his Merit a Place in his Remembrance. This Man would have preserv'd the Republick for its own Sake; the other, that he might have boasted of the Action.

I might carry on the Parallel by adding, that when *Cato* foresaw, *Cicero* was intimidated; and when the former hoped, the latter was confident. *Cato* beheld things through a serene Medium; *Cicero* view'd them thro' a Glare of little Passions.

Anthony was defeated at *Modena*, where the Two Consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa* lost their Lives: The Senate, who thought themselves superior to their tumultuous Affairs, began to think of humbling *Octavius*, who now ceas'd his Hostilities against *Anthony*, march'd his Army to *Rome*; and caus'd himself to be declar'd Consul.

In this manner did *Cicero*, who boasted that his Robe had crush'd the Arms of *Anthony*, introduce an Enemy into the Republick, the more formidable because his Name was much dearer to the People, and his Pretensions, to all Appearance, better founded².

Anthony, after his Overthrow, retired into *Transalpine Gaul*, where he was receiv'd by *Lepidus*; these two Men entred into an Association with *Ottavious*, and reciprocally offer'd each other the

¹ *Effe quam videri bonus malebat; itaque quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis illam asequebatur.* Sallust. bell. Catil.

² He was *Caesar's* Heir, and his Son by Adoption.

Lives of their Friends and Enemies. *Lepidus* continued at *Rome*, whilst the other Two went in Search of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and found them in those Parts where the Empire of the World was thrice contended for in Battle.

Brutus and *Cassius* kill'd themselves with a Precipitation not to be vindicated; and it is impossible to read this Period of their Lives, without pitying the Republick which was so abandon'd. *Cato* clos'd the Tragedy with his own Murder; and these, in some measure, open'd it with their Deaths.

Several Causes may be assign'd for this Custom of Self-Destruction, which so generally prevail'd among the *Romans*; the Progress of Stoicism which encourag'd it; the Establishment of Triumphs and Slavery, which induced several great Men to believe they ought not to survive a Defeat; the Advantages accruing to the Accused, who destroyed themselves rather than they would submit to the Judgment of a Tribunal, by which their Memory was to be branded with Infamy^t, and their Goods given up to Confiscation; a Point of Honour, more rational perhaps, than that which now spirits us to stab our Friend for an unpleasing Gesture or Expression; in a Word, the commodious Effect^v of Heroism, which permitted any one to finish the Part he acted on the Stage of the World, in what Scene he pleased.

^t So inveterate was their Cruelty, that they commanded every Individual among the People to rejoice at the Proscriptions on pain of Death. *Dion*.

^u *Eorum qui de se statuebant, bumabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi.* Tacit. Annal. L. VI.

^v If *Charles I.* and *James II.* had been educated in a Religion which would have permitted them to destroy themselves, the one would not have submitted to such a Death, nor the other to such a Life.

We might add, the great Facility which attended the Execution of such a Design; the Soul always attentive to the Action she is preparing to commit, as well as to the Motive which determines her to have Recourse to that Expedient, and the Danger she escapes by embracing it, does not properly behold Death in its Terrors, because Pain is felt but never seen.

Self-Love, and a Fondness for our Preservation, changes itself into so many Shapes, and acts by such contrary Principles, that it inclines us to sacrifice our Being for the Sake of our Existence; and such an Estimate do we make of our selves, that we consent to die, by a natural and imperfect Instinct, which induces us to love our selves more than our own Lives.

It is certain that Men are become less free, less courageous, and less inclinable to great Undertakings than they formerly were, when by this Pre-rogative they assumed over themselves, they could at any time elude every other Power.

CHAPTER XIII.

AUGUSTUS.

SEXTUS POMPEY possess'd Sicily and Sardinia, was Master at Sea, and saw himself at the Head of a vast Multitude of Fugitives, and Persons pointed out for Death by Proscriptions, and who combated for their ultimate Hopes. Octavius contended with him, in two very laborious Wars, and after a Variety of bad Successes, vanquish'd him by the Abilities of Agrippa.

The generality of the Conspirators had ended their Lives in a miserable Manner, and it was natural that Persons who headed a Party, so frequently

quently harass'd by Wars, in which no Quarter was afforded, should die a violent Death. That Event was however interpreted into a Consequence of Divine Vengeance, which punish'd the Murderers of *Cæsar*, and arm'd its Proscriptions against the Cause they espoused.

Octavius gain'd over the Soldiers of *Lepidus* to his own Interest, and divested him of his Power in the Triumvirate; he even envied him the Consolation of passing the Remainder of his Days in Obscurity, and compelled him to appear like a private Man, in the Assemblies of the People.

It is impossible for any one to be displeased at the Humiliation of this *Lepidus*; he was the most deprav'd Citizen in all the Republick, a constant Promoter of Disturbances, and one who perpetually form'd fatal Schemes wherein he was oblig'd to associate People of more Ability than himself. A modern Author ^a has thought fit to be large in his Commendation, and cites *Anthony*, who, in one of his Letters, represents him as an honest Man. But he, who had that Character from *Anthony*, could not have much Title to it from other Persons.

I believe *Octavius* is the only Man, of all the Roman Generals, who ever gain'd the Affection of the Soldiers, by giving them perpetual Instances of a natural Timidity of Spirit. The Army, at that time, were more affected with the Liberality of their Commanders, than their Valour; perhaps it was even fortunate for him, that he was not Master of any Qualities which could procure him the Empire, and that his very Incapacity should be the Cause of his Promotion to it, since it made him the less dreaded. It is not impossible that the Defects which threw the greatest Dishonour on his Character, should be most propitious to his For-

^a The Abbé de St. Real.

tune. If he had discover'd, at first, any Traces of an exalted Soul, all Mankind would have been jealous of his Abilities ; and if he had been spiri-
ted by any true Bravery, he would not have given *Anthony* Time to launch into all the Extravagancies which prov'd. his Ruin.

When *Anthony* was preparing to march against *Octavius*, he assured his Soldiers, by a solemn Oath, that he would restore the Republic, which makes it evident, that even They were jealous of the Liberty of their Country, tho' they were the per-
petual Instruments of its Destruction, for an Army is the blindest and most inconsiderate Set of People in the World.

The Battle of *Actium* was fought, *Cleopatra* fled, and drew *Anthony* after her. It evidently appear'd by the Circumstances of her future Conduct, that she afterwards betray'd him ^b; perhaps that incomprehensible Spirit of Coquetry, so predominant in her Sex, tempted her to practice all her Arts to lay a Third Sovereign of the World at her Feet.

The most surprizing Circumstance in those Wars is, that one Battle should generally decide the Difference, and that one Defeat should be irreparable.

The *Roman* Soldiers were not, properly, under the Prevalence of any Party-Spirit ; they did not fight for any particular Acquisition, but for some particular Person : they only knew their Commander, who engaged their Service by prodigious Hopes, but when he was once defeated, and consequently no longer in a Condition to accomplish his Promises, they immediately revolted to the other Side. The Provinces did not embark, in the Quarrel, with any greater Sincerity, for it was

of little Consequence to them, whether the Senate or the People prevailed ; and therefore, when one of the Generals lost the Day, they declared for the other ; for every City was obliged to justify itself before the Conqueror, who having engaged himself to the Soldiery, by immense Promises, was constrained to sacrifice, to their Avidity, those Countries which were most obnoxious.

We have been afflicted, in *France*, with two Sorts of Civil War ; one had Religion for its Pre-text, and was of long Duration, because the Motive which first inflamed it continued to subsist after Victory ; the other could not properly be said to have any Motive, but was rather kindled by the Caprice, or Ambition of some great Men, and was soon extinguished.

Augustus (for that was the Name offered by Flattery to *Oetavius*) was careful to establish Order, or rather a durable Servitude ; for when once the Sovereignty has been usurped in a free State, every Transaction, on which an unlimited Authority can be founded, is called a Regulation, and all Instances of Disorder, Commotion, and bad Government, are represented as the only Expedients to preserve the just Liberty of the Subject.

All the *Roman* Citizens who were ever actuated by ambitious Views, have attempted to introduce a Kind of Anarchy in the Republick, and *Pompey*, *Craffus* and *Cæsar* succeeded to a Miracle ; they authorized an Impunity for all publick Crimes, and abolished every Institution calculated to prevent the Corruption of Manners, and every Regulation accommodated to the best Politicks ; and as good Legislators endeavour to improve their Fellow Citizens, these on the contrary were indefatigable to lead them into a Degeneracy from every Virtue. With this View they gave a Sanction to the pernicious Custom of corrupting the People

People by Money, and when any Persons were accused of undue Practices for obtaining Places of Trust, the Delinquents corrupted the Judges who were to decide the Cause. They disordered the Elections by every violent proceeding, and even intimidated the Tribunal itself. The Authority of the People was reduced to Annihilation, witness *Gabinius*, ^c who after he had reinstated *Ptolemy* by Force of Arms, on his Throne, contrary to the Inclinations of the People; very coldly demanded a Triumph.

These leading Men in the Republick, endeavoured to make the People disgusted at their own Power, and to become necessary themselves, by rendering the Inconveniencies of a republican Government as disagreeable as possible. But when *Augustus* had established himself in the Supremacy, his Politicks were employed to restore Order, that the People might be sensible of the Happiness of being ruled by one Man.

When *Augustus* was at the Head of an armed Power, he dreaded the Revolt of his Soldiers and not the Conspiracies of the Citizens; for which Reason he lavished all his Caresses on the former, and was altogether inhumane to the latter: But when his Arms had accomplished a Peace, he was apprehensive of Conspiracies, and the Idea of *Cæsar's* untimely Death being always present to his Remembrance, he resolved to vary from his Conduct that he might avoid his Fate. We shall now give the Reader a compleat Key to the whole Life of *Augustus*: He wore a Coat of Mail, under his Robe, in the Senate House; he refused the Title of Dictator; and whereas *Cæsar* inso-

^c *Cæsar* made War with the Gauls, and *Craffus* with the Parthians, without any previous Deliberation of the Senate, or any Decree of the People. *Dian.*

lently affirmed the Republick to be nothing, and that his Words alone were the Laws, *Augustus* was perpetually expatiating on the Dignity of the Senate and his Veneration for the Republick. He was solicitous therefore to establish such a Form of Government as should be most Satisfactory, without incommoding his particular Interest, and changed it into an Aristocracy with Relation to the Civil, and into a Monarchy with Respect to the military Administration; rendring it by these means, an ambiguous System of Government, which being unsupported by its own Power, could subsist no longer than the Sovereign pleas'd, and consequently was a Monarchy in all its Circumstances.

A Question has been started, whether *Augustus* had a real Inclination to divest himself of the Empire. But is it not apparent, that had he been in earnest, he might easily have effected his Design? But his whole Proceeding, in that Affair, was a meer Artifice, because tho' he expressed a Desire every ten Years, to be eased of the mighty Load that incumber'd him, yet he always thought fit to bear it. These were little Refinements of low Cunning, calculated to induce the People to give him what, in his Opinion, he had not sufficiently acquired. I form my Thoughts in this particular, by the whole Life of *Augustus*; and tho' Mankind are frequently fanciful and inconsistent, they are seldom known to renounce, in one Moment, any Enjoyment that has engaged the Attention of all their Life. Every Action of *Augustus*, and each of his various Regulations visibly tended to the Establishment of Monarchy. *Sylla* resigned the Dictatorship, but amidst all his violent Proceedings, a republican Spirit is apparent in every Part of his Conduct; all his Regulations, tho' executed with a tyrannical Air, had an Aspect to some certain Form of a Commonwealth. *Sylla*, who was a

Man of an impetuous Temper, precipitated the *Romans* into Liberty. *Augustus*, who was a smooth and subtle Tyrant^d, led them gently into Slavery. When the Republick regained its Power, under *Sylla*, all the People exclaimed against Tyranny; and whilst this became fortified, under *Augustus*, Liberty was the general Boast.

The Custom of Triumphs, which had so much contributed to the Greatness of *Rome*, was abolished by *Augustus*, or more properly, this Honour became the Prerogative of Sovereignty^e. The greatest Part of those Customs which prevailed under the Emperors, derived their Origine from the Republick^f; and it will be proper to bring them together, that the Similitude may be more apparent. That Person alone under whose Auspices a War had been conducted, was instituted to demand a Triumph^g: Now the Wars were always carried on

^d I use this Word in the Sense of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who gave this Name to all those who had subverted a Democracy, for in all other Particulars, *Augustus* was a lawful Prince, after the Law enacted by the People. *Lege regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata est, Populus, et in eum omne imperium transtulit.* Instit. Lib. I.

^e Triumphal Ornaments were all the Honours now granted to any particular General, *Dion in Aug.*

^f The *Romans* having changed their Government, without sustaining any Invasion from any Enemy, the same Customs continued as were practised before the Alteration of the Government, the Form of which still remain'd tho' the Essentials were destroyed.

^g *Dion in Aug.* l. 54. acquaints us that *Agrippa* neglected, out of Modesty, to give the Senate an Account of his Expedition against the People of the *Bosporus*, and even refused a Triumph; since which Time, it was not granted to any Person of his Class; but it was a Favour *Augustus* intended to afford *Agrippa*, tho' *Anthony* would not allow it to *Ventidius*, the first Time he conquered the *Parthians*.

under the Auspices of a Chief, and consequently of the Emperor, who was the Chief of every Army.

As constant War was the reigning Principle of the Republick, the Maxim under the Emperors was altogether pacific. Victories were considered as so many Opportunities of introducing Disorder by Armies, who might fix too great a Valuation on their Services. Those who were advanced to any Command were apprehensive of engaging in Enterprises of too great Importance; they found it necessary to aim at Glory with Moderation, and were to engage the Emperor's Notice, and not raise his Jealousy; in a Word, they were not to appear before him with a Lustre, which his Eyes could not support.

Augustus was very cautious^b of investing any one with the Rights of a *Roman* Citizen; he made Lawsⁱ to prevent the Enfranchisement of too many Slaves^k, and by his Will recommended the Observation of these two Maxims, with a Dissuasive against extending the Empire by new Wars.

These three Particulars were very well connected; and when all War was discontinued, there was no need either of new Citizens or Enfranchisements.

When *Rome* was in a constant State of War, she was under a perpetual Necessity of recruiting her Inhabitants. At the Beginning, part of the People were transplanted thither from the conquer'd Cities, and in process of Time several Citizens of the neighbouring Towns came to *Rome* to obtain a Share in the Rights of Suffrage, and establish'd themselves there in such Numbers, that upon the Complaints of the Allies, the *Romans* were oblig'd

^b Sueton. in Auguft.

ⁱ Justin. Institut. L. I. & Suet. in Aug.

^k Dion. in Aug.

to remand them back. Multitudes at last arrived from the Provinces; the Laws favoured Marriages, and even render'd them necessary. *Rome*, in all her Wars, gain'd a prodigious Number of Slaves, and when the Riches of the Citizens became immense, they bought these unhappy People from all Parts, and, from a Principle of Generosity, Avarice or Ambition, enfranchised them without Number!. Some intended by this Proceeding to reward the Fidelity of their Slaves, others had a View by it to receive, in their Name, the Corn which the Republick distributed among the poor Citizens. In a Word, others denied to have their Funeral Solemnity graced with a long Train of Attendants, crowned with Flowers. The People were generally compos'd of Persons who had receiv'd their Freedom, so that the Lords of the Universe, not only in their Original, but thro' the greatest Part of succeeding Times, were of servile Extraction.

The Number of the Populace being chiefly collected out of Slaves, who had been enfranchised, or the Sons of such, became very incommodious, and were therefore transplanted in Colonies; by which Means the State effectually secured the Obedience of the Provinces. There was a general Circulation of Mankind, through the World. *Rome* receiv'd them in the State of Slaves, and sent them away *Romans*.

Augustus, under the Pretence of some Tumults in the Elections, plac'd a Garrison and a Governor in the City, made the Legions perpetual, station'd them upon the Frontiers, and establish'd particular Funds for their Pay. To which we may add, that he gave Orders for the Veterans to

receive their Donations in Money^m, and not in Lands.

Many unhappy Consequences resulted from the Distribution of Land since the Time of Sylla; the Citizens Property in their Estates grew precarious, and if all the Soldiers of one Cohort were not settled in the same Place, they became dissatisfied with their Allotments, neglected the Cultivation of their Lands, and degenerated into dangerous Citizens: But if they were distributed in entire Legions, the Ambitious could raise Armies against the Republick in a Moment.

Augustus likewise establish'd fixed Provisions for the Naval Power, which was never done before his Time; for as the *Romans* were Masters of the *Mediterranean*, and as all Navigation was then confin'd to that Sea, they had not any Enemy to fear.

Dion observes, very judiciously, that after the Emperors had assum'd the sovereign Power, it became very difficult to write the History of those Times. All Transactions were industriously conceal'd, the Dispatches from the Provinces were transmitted to the Cabinets of the Emperors, and we know little more than what either the Folly or Rashness of Tyrants divulged; or such Events as fall within the Conjectures of Historians.

^m He order'd that the Praetorian Soldiers should have Five thousand Drachmas a-piece after sixteen Years Service, and the others Three thousand Drachmas after Twenty Years. *Dion. in Aug.*

CHAPTER XIV.

TIBERIUS.

AS a River, sometimes, with a slow and silent Progress, undermines the Banks that have been thrown up to restrain its Current, and at last overwhelms them in a Moment, and sheds an inundation over the Fields they formerly preserved; in the same Manner, the supreme Authority, which gain'd an insensible Growth under *Augustus*, bore down all before it in the succeeding Reign of *Tiberius*.

A Law at that Time subsisted, which made it Treason to form any injurious Attempt against the Majesty of the People: *TIBERIUS* assumed to himself the Interpretation and Enforcement of this Law, and extended it not only to the Cases for which it was originally calculated, but to every Conjunction that could possibly be favourable to his Hatred or Suspicions. And now, not only Actions, but Words and Signs, and even Thoughts were adjudged by this Standard; for those Expressions which drop from the Overflowing of the Heart, in the Conversation of intimate Friends, are always supposed to be their real Sentiments. All Freedom was therefore banished from their Feasts, Diffidence reign'd among Relations, and Infidelity infected the Slaves: The gloomy Disposition and Insincerity of the Prince were diffused through all Ranks of Men; Friendship had the Disrepute of a dangerous Quicksand; a fine Genius pass'd for a shining Indiscretion, and Virtue it self was only consider'd as an Affectation, that officiously reminded the People of their lost Happiness.

No Tyranny can have a severer Effect than that which is exercised under the Appearance of Laws,

* and

and with the plausible Colours of Justice ; when the Executors of cruel Power would, if we may use the Expression, drown the unhappy Wretches on the very Plank that before saved them amidst the troubled Waves.

As a Tyrant is never destitute of Instruments to accomplish his Designs, so *Tiberius* always found the Senate tractable enough to condemn ^a as many Persons as he could possibly suspect ; and this venerable Body sunk at last into a Degeneracy too low to be described. The Senators even courted Servitude, to gain the Favour of *Sejanus* ; and the most illustrious among them abandoned themselves to the dishonourable Profession of Informers.

It seems easy to discover several Causes of that slavish Disposition, which then prevailed in the Senate. When *Cæsar* had entirely crushed the Party who declared for the Republick, all the Friends, as well as Enemies he then had in the Senate, concurred with equal Unanimity, to remove the Bounds with which the Laws had limited his Power, and at the same time they agreed to render him unparallel'd Honours ; some came into these Compliances with a View to please him, others intended by such Means to make him odious. *Dion* informs us, that some even proposed that he might have the Liberty to enjoy as many Women as he should desire. This obsequious Conduct freed him from all Suspicions of the Senate, and consequently was the Cause of his Assassination ; but then it prevented in the succeeding Reigns, all Flattery from rising to such wild and unexampled Height as might have created Disaffection in the Minds of the People.

^a Before the Time of the Emperors, the Senate confined their Attention to Publick Affairs, and never decided the Causes of private Persons in a full Body.

Before *Rome* submitted to the Dominion of one Man, the Riches of the Nobility, in what manner soever acquired, were certainly immense, but those Grandees were divested of the greatest part of their Treasures by the Emperors^b. The Senators were no longer resorted to by those great and wealthy Clients, who were the Sources of their Patrons Affluence. The Provinces produced nothing considerable, except for *Cæsar*; and especially when they were under the Government of his *Præfets*, whose Office had some Resemblance to that of the Intendants in *France*. However, tho' the Fountain from whence all this Opulence flowed was at last exhausted, the Expences were continued in their former Profusion, and the Track being once mark'd out, the Men of Rank could only pursue it now, by the Emperor's Favour.

Augustus had depriv'd the People of their Legislative Capacity, and abolish'd all their Jurisdiction with respect to Public Offences, but he still left them the Power of electing Magistrates. *Tiberius*, who dreaded the Assemblies of a People so numerous, divested them even of this Privilege, and transferred it to the Senate^c, or rather to himself. Now it is impossible to conceive the abject Lowness to which the Declension of the People's Power sunk the Spirits of the Grandees: When Dignities were in the Disposal of the Populace, the Magistrates, who sollicited their Interest, practised a Number of mean Condescensions, but these were intermixed with a certain Magnificence that in

^b The great Men were impoverish'd even in the Time of *Augustus*, and no longer sollicited for the Office of *Ædile* or *Tribune* of the People, and many of them had not any Inclination to have a Seat among the Senators.

^c *Tacit. Annal. L. I. Dion. L. LIV.* They were afterwards re-established, and then disanull'd by *Caligula*.

some Measure conceal'd them: For Instance, they exhibitt'd pompous Games and Recreations, they distributed Sums of Money, and Quantities of Corn among the People, and sometimes regaled them with splendid Feasts. But tho' the Motive was low, the Manner seem'd august, because it always comports with a great Man to obtain the Favour of the People by Liberality; but when that People had nothing to bestow, and the Prince, in the Name of the Senate, disposed of all Employments, they were desired as well as obtain'd in a dishonourable Manner, and could only be compassed by Adulation, Infamy and a hateful Train of Crimes, that were made necessary Arts by the Iniquity of the Age.

It does not indeed appear that *Tiberius* had any Intention to make the Senate contemptible, and he complain'd of nothing so much, as the Propensity of that Body to Slavery. His Life was filled with Dissatisfactions on that Account, but he resembled the Generality of Mankind, and was fond of contradictory Enjoyments. His general Politicks were inconsistent with his particular Passions; he would willingly have seen a free Senate, who by their Conduct might have created a Veneration for his Government; but then he was also desirous of a Senate who would every Moment be tractable to his Pears, his Jealousies and his Aversions. In a Word, the Politician was perpetually subordinate to the Man.

We have already intimated, that the People had formerly obtained from the Patricians the Privilege of electing, from their own Body, a Set of Magistrates, who were to protect them from the Insults and Injustice that might be intended against them; and, in order to capacitate those Magistrates for the Exercise of such a Power, their Persons were declar'd sacred and inviolable, and whoever should

presume to treat a Tribune injuriously, either by Actions or Language, was condemn'd by the Law to suffer Death on the Spot. Now when the Emperors were invested with the Tribunitial Power, they obtain'd the same Prerogatives, and it was upon this Principle that such a Number of People were depriv'd of their Lives: From this Source flow'd the Impunity with which Informers flourish'd in their Profession; and hence it was, that the Accusation of Treason, that Crime, says *Pliny*, which was charg'd on those to whom no real Offence could be imputed, was at last extended to one whom the Wantonness of Tyranny pointed out.

I am inclinable however to believe, that some of those Titles of Accusation were not so ridiculous as they appear at present, and can never be persuaded that *Tiberius* would have caus'd a Man to be accus'd for selling to one who bought his House, a Statue of the Emperor; that *Domitian* should condemn a Woman to die for undressing herself before his Image; or that he should proceed with the same Severity against a Citizen of *Rome*, for causing a Description of all the Earth to be delineated on the Walls of his Apartment; if such Actions as these had not call'd up an Idea in the Minds of the *Romans* very different from that they now excite in us. For my part I am of Opinion, that as *Rome* had chang'd the Form of its Government, those Actions which now appear inconsiderable to us, might, when they were committed have a very different Aspect; and I judge in this manner, from my Reflection on what is now Customary in a Nation which cannot with any Justice be suspected of Tyranny, and yet it is a Capital Crime there to drink to the Health of a certain Person.

I cannot omit any Circumstance which tends to give a clear Representation of the *Roman* Genius. That

That People were so habituated to Obedience, and so constantly plac'd their Happiness in homaging their Masters, that after the Death of *Germanicus*, they were affected with such inconsolable Sorrow and Despair, as never appears in our Contemporaries. The Descriptions given by Historians ⁴ of a Desolation, so publick, so universal and immoderate, deserve a Reader's Curiosity; and it is certain, that this Scene of Grief was not affected, since a whole People are never known to practise so much Flattery and Diffimulation.

The *Romans*, who had now no longer any Share in the Government, and were chiefly compos'd of Persons who had received their Freedom, or such indolent and unindustrious People who liv'd at the Expence of the publick Treasure were now sensible of nothing but their Imbecility, and afflicted themselves like Children or Women who from a Principle of Weakness abandon themselves to Sorrow. These People were politically indispos'd, they plac'd all their Fears and Hopes in the Person of *Germanicus*, and when he was snatch'd from them by an untimely Death, they sunk into Despair.

No People are so apprehensive of Calamity as those whom the Misery of their Condition should rather discharge from all Fear, and who ought to say with *Andromache*, *Would to Heaven I had any Enjoyment I could dread to lose!* There are at this Day, in *Naples*, Fifty thousand Men, who have no Food but Herbs, and whose whole Cloathing consists of a few miserable Rags; and yet these People, who are the most wretched Creatures upon Earth, discover a dreadful Confusion at the least Irruption of *Vesuvius*, and are so infatuated as to fear they shall be miserable.

⁴ See *Tacitus*.

CHAPTER XV.

*Remarks on the Emperors from CAIUS
CALIGULA to ANTONINUS.*

CALIGULA succeeded TIBERIUS, and it was said of him, that there never was a better Slave, nor a worse Master: And indeed these two Circumstances are very consistent; for the same Turn of Mind which inclines a Person to be strongly affected at the unlimited Power of his Sovereign, produces the same Impressions in his own Favour, when he rises to Empire himself.

Caligula restored the Assemblies of the People, which *Tiberius* had prohibited; and abolish'd the arbitrary Law and Constructions of Treason establish'd by that Emperor: From which Proceeding we may observe, that the Beginnings of a bad Reign sometimes resemble the Conclusion of a good one; for a wicked Prince may, from a Principle of Contradiction to the Motives of his Predecessor's Conduct, be spirited to Actions which the other perform'd from a virtuous Inducement; and we owe to this very Principle a Number of good as well as bad Regulations.

But what did the *Romans* gain by these plausible Beginnings? *Caligula* disannull'd the Law which constituted the Circumstantials of Treason, but then he destroy'd those who displeas'd him, by a military Severity; and his Vengeance, instead of pointing at some particular Senators, hung over all their Heads, like a Sword that threatned them with Extermination at one Blow.

This formidable Tyranny of the Emperors arose from the Disposition of the *Romans* in general; who,

who, as they were suddenly enslav'd to an arbitrary Government, and were hardly sensible of any Interval between Dominion and Subjection, were not prepar'd for such a Transition by any gentle Softenings. The fierce and untractable Disposition still remain'd, and the Citizens were us'd in the same Manner they themselves had treated their conquer'd Enemies, and were govern'd altogether upon the same Plan. When *Sylla* made his publick Entrance into *Rome*, he was still the *Sylla* who had done the same in *Athens*, and he govern'd with an uniform Imperiousness. As to us who are Natives of *France*, and have funk into Subjection by insensible Degrees, if we are destitute of Laws, we are at least govern'd by engaging Manners.

The constant View of the Combats of Gladiators inspir'd the *Romans* with extraordinary Fierceness; and it was observable, that *CLAUDIUS* became more dispos'd to shed Blood, by being habituated to those Spectacles. The Example of this Emperor, who was naturally of a gentle Disposition, and yet degenerated into so much Cruelty at last, makes it evident, that the Education of those times, was very different from our own.

The *Romans*, being accustomed to tyrannize over human Nature ^a, in the Persons of their Children and Slaves, had a very imperfect Idea of that Virtue we distinguish by the Name of Humanity. Whence proceeds the savage Cast of Mind so remarkable in the Inhabitants of our Colonies, but from their constant Severity to an unfortunate Class of Mankind? When Barbarity prevails in Civil Government, what natural Justice or Harmony of Manners can be expected from the Individuals?

^a See the Institutes of *Justinian*, where they treat of the Power of Parents and Masters.

We are fatigu'd and satiated with seeing in the History of the Emperors such an infinite Number of People whom they destroyed for no other End than to confiscate their Goods: Our modern Accounts furnish us with no such Instances of Inhumanity. This Difference, as we have already intimated, is to be ascrib'd to the milder Cast of our Manners, and the civilizing Restraints of a more amiable Religion. We may likewise add, that we have no Opportunity of pillaging the Families of Senators who have ravag'd the World, and we derive this Advantage from the Mediocrity of our Fortunes, which are consequently in a safer Situation. In a word, we are not considerable enough to be plunder'd.^b

That Class of the *Roman* People who were call'd *Plebeians* had no Aversion to the worst of their Emperors, for since they had no longer any Share of Empire themselves, nor were any more employ'd in Wars, they became the most contemptible and degenerate People in the World; they look'd upon Commerce and the Sciences, as only proper for Slaves, and the Distributions of Corn which they receiv'd, made them neglect the Cultivation of their Lands: They had been familiariz'd to public Games and splendid Spectacles, and since they had no longer any Tribunes to obey, or Magistrates to elect, those Gratifications which they were only permitted to enjoy, became necessary to them, and their Indolence and Inactivity stimulated their Relish of those Indulgencies.

CALIGULA, NERO, COMMODUS, CARACALLA, were lamented by the People for their

^b The Duke of *Braganza* had an immense Estate in *Portugal*, and when he first revolted the King of *Spain* was felicitated by his Nobility, for the rich Confiscation he was to derive from that Event.

very Folly, for whatever these loved, the others were as madly fond of, in their Turn, and not only contributed their whole Power, but even devoted their own Persons to those Pleasures ; they lavished all the Riches of the Empire with the greatest Prodigality, and when these were exhausted, the People without the least Emotion beheld all the great Families pillaged. They enjoyed the Fruits of Tyranny, without the least intermixture of Uneasiness, because their low Obscurity was their Protection. Such Princes have a natural Antipathy to People of Merit and Virtue, because they are sensible their Actions are disapproved by such Persons. The Contradiction ^c and even the Silence of an austere Citizen were insupportable to them ; and as they grew intoxicated with popular Applause, they at last imagined their Government constituted the Public Felicity, and consequently that it could be censured by none but disaffected and ill-disposed Persons.

When an Emperor at any Time discovered his Strength and Activity, as when *Commodus*, ^d for In-

^c As the ancient Austerity of Manners could not suffer the Licentiousness of Theatrical Representations, the Minds of virtuous Men continued to be filled with Contempt for those who exercised that Profession.

^d Tho' the Gladiators were selected from the Dregs of the People, and followed the most infamous Profession that was ever tolerated ; for none but Slaves or Malefactors were compelled to devote themselves to Death in Combats at the Funerals of the Grandees ; yet the Fondness of the People for these Exercises which had such a resemblance to those of War, became so immoderate, that we cannot help calling it a Species of Madness. Emperors, Senators, Men of distinguished Birth, and even Women appeared upon the Arena in the Amphitheatre, *nec virorum modo pugnas, sed & feminarum*, says Suetonius in the Life of *Domitian*. The Romans were as much delighted too with Wrestlers.

stance, in the Presence of a vast Assembly of the People, slew several wild Beasts with a Facility peculiar to him, he naturally raised the Admirati-
on of the Soldiers as well as the Populace, because Strength and pliancy of Limbs were at that time considered as necessary Qualifications in the mili-
tary Art.

We have no longer a just Idea of bodily Ex-
ercises, and a Man who practises them with any ex-
traordinary Application, appears contemptible in
our Opinion, because the Generality of these Ex-
ercises produce nothing more than a little exterior
Agreeableness; whereas among the Ancients, all
their Exercises, even Dancing it self, became in-
corporated into their martial Discipline.

We may likewise add, that even among us, an
affected Mastership in the Weapons we employ in
War, is considered as a ridiculous Attainment,
because since the Custom of Duelling became so
prevailing, Fencing has been treated as the Science
of boisterous Wranglers and Cowards.

Those who censure *Homer*, for his usual Manner
of celebrating the Strength or Activity of his He-
roes, must likewise think *Sallust*^f very ridicu-
lous when he praises *Pompey*, for running, leap-
ing, and carrying a Burden better than any other
Man.

Caligula, was a true Sophist in Cruelty, for as
he equally descended from *Anthony* and *Augustus*,
he declared he would punish the Consuls if they
celebrated the Day appointed to commemorate the
Victory at *Aetium*, and that they should likewise
feel his Severity if they neglected to Honour that
Event; and *Drusilla* to whom he accorded divine

^f *Cum alacribus Saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum Vali-
dis recte certabat, Fragn. of Sallust cited by Vegetius
l. i. c. 9.*

Honours, being dead it was a Crime to bewail her because she was a Goddess, and as great an Offence to forbear that Sorrow because she was his Sister.

We have now ascended an Eminence from whence we may take a View of human Affairs : When we trace in the *Roman* History, such a Variety of Wars, and their prodigal Effusion of human Blood ; when we view so many once flourishing Nations depopulated, and see such a Diversity of shining Actions and triumphant Processions ; when we trace the masterly Strokes of Politics, Sagacity and Fortitude, so conspicuous in that People, and reflect on their Advances to universal Monarchy by Schemes so judiciously concerted, so successfully supported, and so happily accomplished ; to what View are all these mighty Preparations directed ; why truly to satiate the Ambition of five or six Monsters ! Is it possible then, that the Senate could shake off the proud Domination of so many Kings, only to plunge themselves into the most abject Slavery to one of their unworthy Citizens, and to extirminate it self by its own Edicts ? Did it rise to such a Height of Grandeur, to drop more splendidly into Ruin, and do the Sons of Men only labour to augment their Power, that they may fall, by their own Combinations, into better Hands ?

When *Caligula* was assassinated, the Senate assembled to form a new Model of Government, and, whilst they were engaged in such Deliberations, a Party of Soldiers rushed in to plunder the Palace, and found, in some obscure Place, a Man trembling with Fear ; this Man was *Claudius*, and they immediately saluted him Emperor.

Claudius compleated the Subversion of the ancient form of Government, by intrusting the Dispensation of Justice to his Officers : The principal Motive to the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, was to determine

determine the Competition of the Senators and the Equestrian [!] Order for this Prerogative, and it was now wrested from both Parties by the arbitrary Fancy of a weak Man. Surprizing Event indeed, of a Dispute which had set the World in Flames.

When the Reign of a Prince succeeds the Dissolution of a Republick, no Authority can be more absolute than his own, for he then possesses all that Power which before was distributed among the People, who exercised it without any Limitations; and for this Reason the Kings of *Denmark* are the most despotic Sovereigns in *Europe*.

The People were altogether as abject and unmanly as the Senate, tho' they once were animated with such a martial Spirit, that when Armies were levied in the City, before the Time of the Emperors, they gained the military Discipline upon the Spot, and immediately marched to the Enemy. In the Civil Wars of *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, *Rome* became a Prey to the ambitious and was full of timorous Citizens, who were struck with Confusion by any Party of Soldiers, who could first approach them.

The Emperors themselves were in no better a Situation; for as the Right of electing a Sovereign was not appropriated to any single Army, it generally happened that when an Emperor was chosen by one Body of Soldiers, that Circumstance alone was sufficient to discredit him with the others, who immediately set up a Competitor to oppose him.

As the Grandeur therefore of the Republick prov'd fatal to that Form of Government, so the mighty Extent of the Empire was altogether as pernicious to the Monarchs. If the Territories they were to defend had been confined to moderate Limits, those Sovereigns might have been effectu-

[!] See *Tacitus*.

ally served by one principal Army, and the Soldiers, when they had once elected their Emperors, would have been dutiful enough to acquiesce in their Choice.

GALBA, OTHO and **VITELLIUS**, ^s made a very transient Appearance in the imperial Scene. **VESPASIAN** who, like them was elected by the Army, devoted all his Reign to the Reestablishment of the Empire, which had been successively possest by six Tyrants, all equally cruel, and most of them exceedingly furious and untractable, generally very weak, and, to compleat the publick Calamity, profuse even to Infatuation.

TITUS, who succeeded his Father, was the Darling of the People; but *Domitian* presented to their View an uncommon Monster, more inhuman in his Disposition, or at least more implacable than any of his Predecessors, because he is more timorous.

His favourite Freemen, and, according to some Historians, the Empress herself, finding his Friendship as dangerous as his Aversion, and that he allow'd no bounds to his Suspicions and Accusations, turned their Thoughts to a Successor, and chose the venerable **NERVA**.

Nerva adopted *Trajan*, who proved the most accomplished Prince in all History; it was a Happiness to be born under his Reign, which blessed the Empire with more Prosperity and true Glory than it had ever enjoy'd before. He was an admirable Statesman, and a most accomplished General; the native Sweetness of his Disposition inclined him to universal Humanity; and his unclouded Penetration, guided him thro' the best and purest Tracks of Government; he was actuated by a

^s *Suscipere duo manipulares imperium Populi Romani transferendum, & transfulerunt.* Tacit. l. 1.

noble Soul, to whose Embellishment every Virtue had contributed. His Conduct was free from all Extreams, and his amiable Qualities were tempered with that exact Proportion that the Brightnes of one was never lost in the Lustre of another. To sum up all, he was the best qualified of Mankind, to do Honour to human Nature, and to represent the Divinity on Earth.

He accomplish'd *Cæsar's* Project of invading the *Parthians*, and was very successful in his Wars with that mighty People; any Monarch but himself would have sunk under the Weight of such an Enterprize, where Danger was always present, and from whence the Source of his necessary Supplies was at a vast Distance; in a Word, where he could not be sure, Victory it self would save him from Destruction.

The Difficulty consisted in the Situation of the two Empires, and the military Discipline of both Nations. If he directed his March through *Armenia* towards the Sources of *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, he was sure to be incommoded with a mountainous and impracticable Country, through which no Convoy of Provision could pass, so that the Army would be half destroyed before they could penetrate into *Media*^h. On the other Hand if he should strike out a lower Track towards the South, through *Nisibis*, he would find himself bewildered in a ghastly Desart that separated the two Empires; and if he intended to proceed still lower and march through *Mesopotamia*, he was then to cross a large Country that was either uncultivated or laid under Water; and as the *Tygris* and *Euphrates* flowed from North to South, he could not gain a Passage

^h The Country did not produce any Trees large enough to be wrought into Engines proper for the Siege of Towns. *Plut.* Life of *Antonius*.

into the Country without quitting those Rivers, which if he did he must inevitably perish.

As to the Manner practised by the two Nations in making War, the Strength of the *Romans* consisted in their Infantry, which was the most firm and best-disciplined Body of Soldiers in the World.

The *Parthians* on the contrary, had no Infantry, but then their Horse was admirable and always combated at such a Distance as placed them out of the Reach of the *Roman Army*, and the Javelin was seldom launch'd far enough to wound them. Their own Weapons consisted of a Bow, and many formidable Shafts, and they rather besieg'd an Army than gave it Battle, they were pursued to no Purpose in their Flight, for that was the same with them as an Engagement. They carried off all the Inhabitants of the Country, and only left *Garrisons* in their fortified Places, and when these were taken the Conquerors were oblig'd to destroy them. The *Parthians* likewise set Fire to all the Country that lay round the *Roman Army*, and did not leave them the least Blade of Herbage. In a Word, they managed their Wars in a Manner very like that which is now practised on the same Frontiers.

We may add to these Disadvantages, that the *Illyrian* and *German* Legions which were drawn out for this War, were no Way capable to sustain it, ¹ because the Soldiers who were accustom'd to plentiful Food in their own Country, perished in these Regions for Want of many Necessaries.

The *Parthians* by these Means had accomplished that, for the Preservation of their Liberty, which had hitherto been impracticable to all other Nations, against the victorious Power of the *Romans*: But they owed this Advantage not to any resistless Valour, but to their inaccessible Situation.

¹ See *Herodian's Life of Alexander*.

ADRIAN gave up the Conquest of TRAJAN, and made *Euphrates* the Boundary of his Empire; and indeed it was surprizing that the *Romans* after such a Series of War should lose nothing but what they were desirous to quit; and thus they resembled the Ocean whose Expansion is never lessen'd but when it retires of it self.

This Conduct of ADRIAN occasioned great Dis-satisfactions among the People. It was recorded in the sacred Book of that Nation * that when *Tarquin* intended to build the Capitol, he found the place most commodious for his Purpose fill'd with the Statues of other Deities, upon which he employed his Skill in Augury to discover if they were inclinable to resign their Places to *Jupiter*, and they all consented, except *Mars*, *Hebe*, and *Terminus*. This proceeding gave Birth to three Religious Opinions, namely, that *Mars* would never resign this Place to any other Being; that the *Roman* Youth would be always invincible, and that their God *Terminus* would never recede from his Station; the contrary of which was however verified in the Reign of *Adrian*.



CHAPTER XVI.

Considerations on the State of the Empire from ANTONINUS to PROBUS.

IN this Period the *Stoicks* propagated their Doctrines in the Empire with great Popularity; and it seems as if Nature herself had been industrious to produce this admirable Sect which resembled

* *Augustin. de Civit. Dei*, l. 4. c. 23 and 29.

those Plants the Earth causes to spring up in Places
never visited by the Sunbeams.

This Sect furnished the *Romans* with their best Emperors ; none but *Marcus Aurelius* could extinguish the Remembrance of the first *Antonine* who adopted him ; and we find our selves affected with a secret Pleasure when we speak of this Emperor. We cannot read his Life without some Impressions of Tenderness, and grow inclinable to think better of our selves, because the History of that Prince makes us entertain a more favourable Opinion of Mankind.

The Wisdom of *NERVA*, the Glory of *TRAJAN*, the Valour of *ADRIAN*, and the Virtue of the two *ANTONINES*, gained them the Veneration of the Soldiers ; but when a set of new Monsters became their Successors, the Abuse of military Government appeared in its full Enormity ; and the Soldiers, who had exposed the Empire to sale, assassinated the Emperors for the sake of new Gratuities.

It has been a conceived Opinion that there is a certain Prince in the World, who for the Space of fifteen Years has been endeavouring to abolish the Civil Government in his Dominions, and to substitute the Military in its Room. I have no Intention to make odious Reflections on such a Design, and shall only observe, that from the Nature of Things in General, two hundred Guards may be a better Security to a Prince than four Thousand ; and besides, an armed People are of all others the most dangerous to be opposed.

COMMODUS succeeded his Father *Marcus Aurelius*, and was a Monster who gave a Loose to all his own Passions, and those of his Courtiers. The Persons who delivered the World from such a Barbarian, transferred the imperial Dignity to the venerable *Pertinax*, who was soon assassinated by the Pretorian Bands.

The

The Empire was then expos'd to Auction, and *Didius Julian* carry'd it by a Number of magnificent Promises; this Proceeding exasperated the whole Body of the People; for tho' the Empire had been frequently bought, it had never been sold upon Credit before; *Pescennius Niger*, *Severus*, and *Albinus*, were saluted Emperors, and *Julian* not being in a Condition to pay the immense Sums he had promised, was abandon'd by the Soldiers.

Severus defeated *Niger* and *Albinus*: He was Master of extraordinary Qualities, but wanted that Sweetness of Disposition, which in Princes is the most amiable Quality they can possess.

The unhappy Custom of Proscribing, introduc'd by *Sylla*, was still practised under the Emperors; and the Prince must have been distinguish'd by some Virtue, if he discountenanc'd that severe Proceeding; for as the Ministers and Favourites turn'd their Thoughts to Confiscations at the Beginning of a Reign, they were always representing to their Sovereign the Necessity for Punishments, and the dangerous Effects of Clemency.

It may here be proper to observe, that the Power of the Emperors might easily appear more tyrannical than that of modern Princes, for as their Dignity was a Conjunction of the various Authorities in the *Roman* Magistracy, such as Dictators, for Instance, Tribunes of the People, Proconsuls, Censors, Supreme Pontiffs, and sometimes Consuls, they frequently assumed the Dispensation of distributive Justice, and it was easy for them to create Suspicions, that they had oppressed those whom they condemn'd; for the People usually judge of the Abuse of Power, by the Greatness of its Extent; whereas the Kings of *Europe*, being Legislators and not Executors of the Law, and Sovereign Princes but not Judges, are consequently discharg'd

discharg'd from the Exercise of an Authority that might prove odious ; and have consign'd the Infliction of Punishments to Magistrates, whilst they reserv'd to themselves the Distribution of Pardons and other popular Acts of Mercy.

Few Emperors have ever been more jealous of their Authority than *Tiberius* and *Severus*, and yet they suffer'd themselves to be govern'd in a most dishonourable Manner, the one by *Sejanus* and the other by *Plautian*.

When *Severus* gave the full Play to his Proscriptions, a great Body of *Niger's*^a Army retir'd for Safety to the *Parthians*^b and perfected them in every Part of military Discipline wherein they were any way defective ; they habituated them to the *Roman Weapons*, and even taught their Workmen how to make that martial Equipage ; in Consequence of which, that People, who till then had usually limited their Exploits to defensive Wars^c, were generally Aggressors for the future.

It is very remarkable, that in the long Series of those Civil Wars that were continually raging, the Chiefs, who were supported by the Legions of *Europe*, generally defeated the Leaders of the *Asiatick* Legions ; and we read, in the History of *Severus*, that he could not take the City of *Atra* in *Arabia*, because the *European* Legions having mutinied, he was oblig'd to employ those of *Syria*.

^a Herodian's Life of *Severus*.

^b This Fatality continu'd in the Reign of *Alexander*. *Artaxerxes* who re-establish'd the *Perfian Empire*, made it formidable to the *Romans*, because their Soldiers either through Caprice or a libertine Disposition deserted in great Multitudes to the King of *Perfia*.

^c Namely the *Perfians*, who follow'd their Example.

This Difference became evident, when the Levies were first made^d in the Provinces, and it appear'd as considerable in the Legions, as it did in the Nations out of which they were rais'd, and who by Nature or Education were more or less form'd for War.

Another unhappy Consequence likewise ensued from these Provincial Levies, for the Emperors, who were generally elected out of the Soldierie, were for the most part Strangers, and sometimes the worst of Barbarians. *Rome* was now no longer Mistress of the World, but receiv'd Laws from the whole Universe.

Each Emperor brought with him some Peculiarity from his own Country, relating to Fashions, Manners, Politics or Religion; and HELIOGABALUS had even form'd a Resolution to destroy every Object of religious Veneration in *Rome*, and to banish all the Gods from their Temples, that he might place his own in their Room.

This Circumstance, even consider'd as independent on the secret Operations of the Deity, which are obvious to his Omnipotence alone, greatly contributed to the Establishment of Christianity; for nothing was now strange in the Empire, and the

^d *Augustus* fix'd the Legions to particular Stations in the Provinces. The Levies were originally rais'd at *Rome*, after that among the *Latins*, in *Italy* next, and last of all in the Provinces. When *Cicero* was in his Government Abroad, he wrote to the Senate in these Terms. " You cannot place any Confidence in the Levies rais'd in this Country: *Bibulus* was commission'd to furnish some out of *Afia*, but he never would proceed in that Affair." When *Vespasian* was proclaim'd Emperor by the Armies of *Syria* and *Judea*, he employ'd none but the Legions of *Mæsa*, *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, in his Wars against *Vitellius*. *Severus* defeated the *Afia* Legions of *Niger*, and *Constantine* those of *Licinus*.

People were prepar'd to relish every new Custom which the Emperors were inclinable to introduce.

It is well known, that the *Romans* receiv'd the Gods of other Nations into their City; but then they receiv'd them with the Air of Conquerors, and carried them in their triumphal Processions: But when Strangers attempted to establish them by their own Authority, they were immediately rejected. It is likewise notorious, that the *Romans* gave foreign Deities the Names of such of their own Gods as were most conformable to the others, in their Attributes: But when the Priests of other Countries would introduce the Adoration of their Divinities, under their proper Names, among the *Romans*, they were not permitted to accomplish that Design; and this was the greatest Obstacle to the Progress of Christianity.

CARACALLA, who succeeded *Severus*, may be call'd not only a Tyrant, but the Destroyer of Mankind: *Caligula*, *Nero* and *Domitian* limited their Barbarities to *Rome*, but this Monster endeavour'd to shed his Fury thro' the World like a Pestilence.

Severus amass'd prodigious Treasures by the Exactions of a long Reign, and his Proscriptions of those who declar'd for his Competitors in Empire.

Caracalla having commenc'd his Reign with murdering his Brother *Geta*, with his own Hands, purchas'd with those Riches a Connivance at his Crime, from the Soldiers who had an extraordinary Regard for *Geta*; but the Liberalities of *Caracalla* had such an Effect upon them, that they declar'd they had taken Oaths to both the Children of *Severus*, and not to one alone.

The immoderate Treasures which have been gather'd by Princes have commonly produced fatal Effects: They generally corrupt the Successor, who grows dazzled with the Lustre they diffuse:

and if they happen not to pervert his Heart, they misguide his Mind, and cause him to form Plans of mighty Enterprizes, by the Ministration of a Power that is only accidental, always transitory and unnatural, and an empty Inflation instead of a real Grandeur.

Caracalla, to soften the Horror of his Fratricide, instituted divine Honours to his Brother *Geta*; and, what was very peculiar, he himself receiv'd the same Deification from *MACRINUS*, who after he had caus'd him to be stabb'd, and was desirous of appeasing the Praetorian Bands, who regretted the Death of a Prince whose Liberalities they had so often enjoy'd, erected a Temple, and establish'd a Priesthood of *Flamins* in his Honour.

This preserv'd his Memory from all degrading Imputations, ^c and the Senate not daring to censure him, he was not rank'd among the Tyrants, like *Commodus*, who had not done more to deserve that Title than himself.

As to the two great Emperors *Adrian* and *Severus*^f, one establish'd and the other relax'd the military Discipline, and the Events exactly corresponded with their Causes: The Reigns which succeeded that of *Adrian* were a Series of Happiness and Tranquillity; but after the Death of *Severus*, nothing was seen but a Succession of Calamities and Horror.

Caracalla had confin'd himself to no Limitations in his Prodigality to the Soldiers, and in that Particular he acted conformably to the Sentiments of his Father, who, on his Death-bed, advised him to enrich the Army and disregard all the rest of Mankind.

^c *Aelius Lampridius in Vita Alexand. Severi.*

^f See the Abridgment of *Xiphil.* in the Life of *Adrian*, and *Herodian* in the Life of *Severus*.

But these Politicks could be only accommodated to one Reign ; for the Successor, being no longer able to continue those Expences, was soon assassinat'd by the Army : So that the Emperors who were eminent for Wisdom, were always murder'd by the Soldiers ; and those whose Lives were infamous, were destroy'd either by the Conspiracies or Edicts of the Senate.

When a Tyrant suffer'd himself to be entirely influenc'd by the Army, and left the Citizens expos'd to their licentious Depredations, such injurious Proceedings could not be extended beyond the Period of one Reign ; because the Soldiers, in consequence of their Devastations, impoverish'd the People, and defeated themselves of their Pay by that Event. It therefore became necessary to reform the military Discipline, which was a Project always fatal to the Person who presum'd to attempt it.

When *Caracalla* lost his Life by the Treachery of *Macrinus*, the Soldiers, in Despair at the Death of a Prince whose Liberality had been dispens'd to them with an unlimited Flow ^g, elected *HELIO-*

^g These liberal Donations to the Soldiers were introduc'd by an antient Custom, establish'd in the Republick. The Person to whom a Triumph was decreed diistributed a few *Denarii* among the Soldiers, out of the Money taken from the Enemy. During the Civil Wars, the Army and their General being equally corrupt, these Gifts became immense, tho' they were seiz'd out of the Citizens Effects ; and the Soldiers claim'd a Distribution, even when there was no Booty to furnish it. *Cæsar*, *Octavius*, and *Anthony*, frequently bestow'd Five thousand *Denarii* on a common Soldier, they doubled that Sum to the Officer of the Band, and gave proportionably to the rest. A *Roman Denarius* was equal in Value to Ten of those Pieces call'd *As*, and one *As* was equivalent to a Pound of Copper.

GABALUS, and when he by his Prostitution to infamous Pleasures, and the lawless Extravagancies he suffer'd the Army to commit, grew contemptible even in their Eyes, they dispatch'd him by an Assassination. The same Fate attended **ALEXANDER**, who was preparing to restore the true military Discipline, and threaten'd to punish the Soldiers for their Misconduct.

In this Manner a Tyrant, who instead of being sollicitous for his Safety, affected an Ability to be criminal, perish'd with the fatal Advantage of being murder'd a few Days before another who would willingly have been a better Man.

After the Death of *Alexander*, the Imperial Dignity was transferr'd to **MAXIMIN**, who was the first Emperor of Barbarian Extraction, and had been distinguish'd by his Strength and gigantick Stature.

This Prince and his Son were likewise slain by the Soldiers. The two first **GORDIANS** perish'd in *Africa*: **MAXIMUS**, **BALBINUS** and the third **GORDIAN** were massacred: **PHILIP**, who had caus'd the young *Gordian* to be destroy'd, was himself slain with his Son; and **DECIUS**, who was chosen to succeed him, was murder'd in his turn by the Treason of **GALLUS**^b.

^b *Casaubon* observes, on the *Historia Augusta*, that during the Period of 160 Years which it comprehends, there were seventy Persons, who justly or otherwise, had the Title of *Cæsar*. *Adeo erant in illo Principatu, quem tamen omnes mirantur, Comitia Imperii semper incerta. So uncertain, to the Astonishment of all, were the Elections in that Empire.* Which Circumstance sufficiently manifests the Difference between the *Roman Government* and that of *France*, where for the long Space of Twelve hundred Years, no more than Sixty three Kings have reign'd.

The Roman Empire was improperly so denominated at that time, and might rather be call'd an irregular Commonwealth, nearly resembling the Aristocracy of *Algiers*, where the Militia, who are invested with the sovereign Power, elect and depose the Magistrate they call they *Dey*, and it may perhaps be taken for a general Rule, that a military Government is, in some respects, a Republick rather than a Monarchy.

But lest any one should imagine the Soldiers had no other Share in the Government than what they extorted by their Disobedience and Insurrections, let it be ask'd whether the Orations in which the Emperors address'd themselves to the Army, were not at last very correspondent to those which the Consuls and Tribunes formerly made to the People? And tho' the Soldiers had no particular Place to assemble in, nor were under the Regulation of any certain Terms; tho' the Temper of their Minds was not usually serene, their Proceedings consisting of Action rather than Deliberation, did they not however dispose of the public Fortune with a sovereign Authority? What was an Emperor but the Minister of a violent and tumultuous Government, and did not the Soldiers elect him for their own particular Convenience?

When the Army associated into the Empire¹, *Philip*, the Praetorian Prefect of the third *Gordian*, this Prince claim'd the Exercise of an undivided Command, but did not succeed in his Pretensions; he then requested the Army to divide the Power equally between them, but to as little Effect; he next intreated them to leave him the Title of *Cæsar*, and was still refus'd; he afterwards solicited them to create him Prefect of the Praetorian Bands, and met with the usual Repulse; till at last he was

¹ See *Julius Capitoninus*.

reduc'd to plead for his Life. The Army, in the Instance before us, exercis'd the Supreme Magistracy in their several Decisions.

The *Barbarians* were at first unknown to the *Romans*, and for some time afterwards only incommodious, but at last they became formidable to them, by an Event altogether unparallel'd at that time, and which perhaps may never be equall'd hereafter. *Rome* had so effectually extinguish'd all Nations, that when she at last was vanquish'd in her Turn, the Earth seem'd to produce a new Race of Mankind, to accomplish her Destruction.

Those Princes who have large Dominions seldom find them border'd by any Territories considerable enough to be the Objects of their Ambition; and should there be any such, they would naturally be swallow'd up in a Series of Conquest. We will say they are bounded then by Sea and Mountains and vast Desarts, where Sterility renders them contemptible. The *Romans* for this Reason suffer'd the *Germans* to range in their Forests and gloomy Wilds, and let the Northern Nations shiver amidst the Polar Snow; and yet those inhospitable Regions produc'd a People, who at last enslav'd the Conquerors of the World.

In the Reign of *Gallus* a mighty Collection of Nations, who afterwards became more celebrated, spread their Ravages thro' all *Europe*, and the *Perians* having invaded *Syria*, abandon'd their Conquests only to preserve their Booty.

The miserable Disorders which had so long been springing up in the several Successions of the Emperors, were now come to their fatal Maturity, and that Period which was concurrent with the Close of *VALERIAN*'s Reign, and the Duration of that of his Son *GALLIENUS*, produced Thirty Pretenders to the Empire, the greatest part of whom being swept away by their mutual Contentions,

their

their Devastations were limited to a short Reign; and they gain'd nothing durable but the Appellation of the Thirty Tyrants.

Valerian having been taken Prisoner by the *Per-*
*si**ans*, and his Son *Gallienus* neglecting the public
Affairs, the Barbarians penetrated into all Parts,
and the Empire was now in the same Condition it
was afterwards reduc'd to in the West^k, at the
Close of another Century, and it would then have
felt its last Convulsions, had not a happy Conjunc-
tion of Events interposed for its Preservation.

ODENATIUS, Prince of *Palmyra*, and one of
the *Roman* Allies, dislodg'd the *Per**si**ans*, who had
invaded the greatest part of *Asia*: *Rome* furnish'd
an Army of its own Citizens, and they effectually
deliver'd it from the *Barbarians* who came to pil-
lage their City: An innumerable Army of *Scy-*
thians, who put to Sea in a Fleet of Five thousand
Ships, entirely perish'd by Storms, Fatigue and
Famine, and even by their formidable Grandeur;
and *Gallienus* being at last slain, *CLAUDIUS AURE-*
LIAN, *TACITUS* and *PROBUS*, who happily suc-
ceeded him, and were four extraordinary Princes,
snatch'd the Empire from the Verge of Ruin.

CHAPTER XVII.

Changes in the STATE.

THE Emperors, to prevent the continual Treasons of the Army, associated into the Government proper Persons in whom they might confide, and *DIOCLESIAN*, under pretext of the Weight and Multiplicity of the public Affairs, esta-

^k An Hundred and fifty Years after this Event, the Barbarians invaded the Empire in the Reign of *Honorius*.

blished a Law, that there should always be Two Emperors and as many *Cæsars*. He judg'd that by this Proceeding, the four principal Armies being possess'd by the Partners in the Empire, would naturally intimidate one another, and that the inferior Armies being too weak to have any Thoughts of raising their Chiefs to the Imperial Dignity, their Custom of Election would be gradually discontinu'd, and entirely abolish'd at last. Besides, the Dignity of the *Cæsars* being always subordinate, that Power, which, for the Security of the Government, was in the Participation of Four, would be exercis'd in its full Extent by no more than Two.

The Soldiers were likewise restrain'd from their Exorbitances by considering, that as the Riches of particular Persons as well as the public Treasure were considerably diminish'd, the Emperors were in no Condition to offer them such large Donations as formerly, and consequently the Gratuities would be no longer proportionable to the Danger of a new Election.

We may add to this, that the Prefects of the Praetorian Bands, whose Power and Employments rendred them the Grand Vifiers of those Times, and frequently tempted them to murder their Emperors, in order to raise themselves to the Throne, were greatly reduc'd by Constantine, who divest'd them of all but their Civil Functions, and augmented their Number to Four instead of Two.

The Lives of the Emperors began now to be in greater Security, and they might reasonably expect to die peaceably in their Beds. This Circumstance seems in some measure to have softned their Dispositions, and they no longer shed human Blood with the barbarous Prodigality of their Predecessors. But as the immense Power they still possess'd must needs have some particular Tendency,

it began to manifest it self in a Species of Tyranny less glaring than the former. The Subjects were no longer affrighted with inhuman Massacres, but then they were harass'd by unjust Sentences and Forms of Judicature, which seem'd to defer Death only to render Life it self uncomfortable. The Court govern'd, and was likewise sway'd in its Turn, by a greater Variety of Artifices and a more exquisite Train of political Refinements, which were conducted with greater Silence than usual. In a word, instead of an unterrified Disposition to form a bad Action, and a cruel Precipitation to commit it, those gigantic Iniquities shrank into the Vices of weak Minds, and could only be called languid Crimes.

A new Train of Corruption was now introduc'd, the first Emperors pursu'd Pleasures, but these sunk into Softness. They shew'd themselves with less Frequency to the Soldiers, were more indolent and fonder of their Domestics, more devoted to the Palace, and more abstracted from the Empire.

The Poison of the Court grew more malignant in proportion to the Disguise it assum'd. All direct Terms were disus'd in Discourse, and distant Insinuations became the Dialect of the Palace. Every shining Reputation was sullied, and the Ministers as well as the Officers of the Army were perpetually left to the Discretion of that sort of People, who, as they cannot be useful to the State themselves, suffer none to serve it with Reputation and Glory. In a word, that Affability of the first Emperors, which alone qualify'd them for an Insight into their Affairs, was now entirely discarded. The Prince had no Informations, but what were convey'd to him by the Canal of a few Favourites, who being always in Concert together, and even when they seem'd to disagree in their Opinions, were only in the Provinces of a single Person to their Sovereign.

The

The Residence of several Emperors in *Asia*, and their perpetual Competition with the Kings of *Perſia*, made them form a Resolution to be ador'd like those Monarchs; and *Diocleſian*, tho' others ſay *Galerius*, publish'd an Edict to that Effect.

This pompous Imitation of the *Asiatic* Pride being once establish'd, the People were ſoon habituated to ſuch a Spectacle, and when *Julian* would have regulated his Conduct by a modest Simplicity of Manners, that Proceeding which was no more than a Renovation of the ancient Behaviour, was imputed to him as a reproachful Inattention to his Dignity.

Tho' ſeveral Emperors had reign'd after *Marcus Aurelius*, yet the Empire was undivided; and as the Authority of thoſe Princes was acknowledg'd in all the Provinces, it was but one Power tho' exercis'd by many Persons.

But *GALERIUS*² and *CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS*, being at Variance with each other, divided the Empire in Reality, and this Example, which was afterwards follow'd by *CONSTANTINE*, who purſu'd the Plan of *Galerius* and not that of *Diocleſian*, introduc'd a Custom which might be call'd a Revolution rather than a Change.

We may likewife add, that the strong Desire of *Constantine* to be the Founder of a new City, and an Impulse of Vanity to diſtinguiſh it by his own Name, determin'd him to transfer the Seat of Empire to the East. Though *Rome* was far from being ſo ſpacious within the Walls as it is at preſent, yet the Suburbs were prodigiously extenſive: *Italy* was fill'd with Seats of Pleasure, and might properly be call'd the Garden of *Rome*. The Huf-

² See *Oroſus*, L. VII. and *Aurelius Victor*.

bandmen were in *Sicily*, *Africa* and *Egypt*^b; but the Gardeners liv'd altogether in *Italy*. The Lands were generally cultivated by the Slaves of the *Roman* Citizens, but when the Seat of Empire was establish'd in the East, all *Rome* was in a manner transplanted to that Situation. Thither did the Grandees send their Slaves, or in other Words, the greatest part of the People, and *Italy* was almost exhausted of its Inhabitants.

It was *Constantine's* Intention that the new City should not be inferior in any particular to the old one, and therefore he took Care to have it sufficiently supply'd with Corn, commanding all the Harvest of *Egypt* to be sent to *Constantinople*, and consigning that of *Africa* to *Rome*, which does not seem to have been a very judicious Proceeding.

Whilst the Republick subsisted, the People of *Rome*, who were then the Sovereigns of all other Nations, became naturally intituled to a Proportion of the Tribute: This Circumstance induced the Senate to sell them Corn, at first, for a low Price, and afterwards to make a gratuitous Distribution of it among them; and when Monarchy it self was introduced, this latter Custom was still continued, tho' entirely opposite to the Principles of that Form of Government. 'Tis true, the Abuse remained unrectified through an Apprehension of the Inconveniencies that would have risen from its Discontinuance; but when *Constantine* founded a new City he established the same Custom without the least Appearance of Reason.

^b Corn, says *Tacitus*, was formerly exported from *Italy* to the distant Provinces, and it is not a barren Land now, but we cultivate *Africa* and *Egypt*, and choose to expose the Lives of the *Roman* People to Danger.

When *Augustus* had conquered *Egypt*, he convey'd the Treasure of the *Ptolemys* to *Rome*, and this Proceeding occasioned much the same Revolution, which the Discovery of the *Indies* afterwards effected in *Europe*, and which some ridiculous Schemes have since accomplished in our Time. The Revenue was doubled at *Rome*^c, and as that City continued to absorb all the Riches of *Alexandria*, which was it self the Repository of the Treasures of *Africa* and the East; Gold and Silver by these Means became very common in *Europe*, and the People were able to pay very considerable Taxations even in Money.

But when the Empire was afterwards divided, all these Riches flow'd in a full Tide to *Constantinople*; and we may add to this unhappy Circumstance, that the Mines in *Germany*^d had not then been opened; that those of *Italy* and *Gaul* were very few and inconsiderable, and that the Mines of *Spain* had not been work'd since the *Carthaginians* lost that Country, or at least they were not so productive as formerly; *Italy* it self was now a continued Waste of forsaken Gardens, and consequently could not be in any Condition to draw Money from the East, whilst the West at the same Time was drained of all its Wealth, by the oriental Merchants who supplied the Inhabitants with their necessary Commodities. Gold and Silver, by these Means became extremely scarce in *Europe*, and yet the Emperors extorted the same pecuniary Tributes as formerly, which compleated the general Destruction.

^c *Sueton.* in *August.* *Oros.* l. 6. The *Macedonian* Treasures which had been carried thither caused all Tributes to cease: *Unius Imperatoris præda finem attulit tributorum.* *Cic.* de *Offic.* l. 2.

^d *Tacitus de moribus Germanorum*, declares this in express Terms.

When a Government has been established in one certain Form, and its political Circumstances are adjusted to a particular Situation, it is generally prudent to leave them in that Condition; for the same Causes which have enabled such a State to subsist, tho' they may frequently be complicated and unknown, will still continue to support it; but when the whole System is changed, Remedies can only be accommodated to the Inconveniences visible in the Theory, whilst others, which nothing but Experience can point out, are lurking without Opposition, in the new Plan.

For these Reasons, tho' the Empire grew already too great, yet it was effectually ruined by the Divisions into which it was parcelled, because all the Parts of this vast Body, had for a long series of Time been arranged so as to become settled and steady, and were compacted by a mutual Dependency through the whole.

Constantine^e, after he had weakened the Capital, proceeded to impair the Frontiers by drawing off those Legions who were stationed on the Banks of great Rivers, and distributing them into the Provinces; this Innovation was extremely prejudicial in more Instances than one; for as the Barrier which comprehended so many Nations was now removed; so the Soldiers^f passed all their Time, and grew effeminate in the Circus and the Theatres^g.

^e This Account of *Constantine's* Proceedings no way contradicts the Ecclesiastical Writers who declare they confine themselves to those Actions of this Prince which had any Relation to Religion, without concerning themselves with the political Transactions in that Reign. *Euseb. Life of Constantine*, l. 1. c. 9. *Socrates* l. 1. c. 1.

^f *Zozimus* l. 2.

^g After the Establishment of Christianity, the Combats of Gladiators were very seldom exhibited, and

When Julian was sent by Constantius into Gaul, he found that fifty Towns on the Rhine^h, had been taken by the Barbarians, that the Provinces were all plundered, and that there was now no more than the Shadow of a Roman Army, which fled at the very mention of the Enemies Name.

This Prince by his Wisdomⁱ, and Perseverance, join'd with Oeconomy, Conduct and Valour, and prospered by a noble Series of heroic Actions, chased the Barbarians out of their new Settlements, and his Name became a Terror as long as he lived^k.

No Prince saw the Necessity of restoring the ancient Plan, more than VALENTINIAN. His whole Life was employed in fortifying the Banks of the Rhine, making Levies, raising Castles, placing Troops in proper Stations, and furnishing them with Subsistence on those Frontiers; but an Event that afterwards happen'd, determined his Brother VALENS to open the Danube, and that Proceeding was attended with very dreadful Consequences.

That Tract of Land which lies between the Palus Maeotis, the Mountains of Caucasus and the

Constantine prohibited them by his Authority; but this barbarous Custom was not entirely abolished till the Time of Honorius. The Romans retained nothing of their ancient Shows, but what tended to emasculate their Minds and allure them to pleasure. In former Times, the Soldiers before they took the Field were entertained with a Combat of Gladiators, to habituate them to the Sight of Blood and Weapons of War, and to inspire them with Intrepidity when they engaged the Enemy. *Jul. Capit. Life of Maximus and Balbinus.*

^h Ammian. Marcellin. l. 16, 17, and 18.

ⁱ Ammian Marcellin, ibid.

^k See the noble Panegyrick made by Ammianus Marcellinus on this Prince, l. 25.

Caspian Sea, was inhabited by a numerous People who composed the great Part of the Nation of the *Huns* or that of the *Alans*; the Soil was exceeding fertile; the Inhabitants were fond of Wars and Robberies; and were always either on Horseback or in their Chariots, and wandred about the Country wherein they were inclosed: They sometimes made Depredations on the Frontiers of *Persia* and *Armenia*; but the Ports of the Caspian Sea were easily guarded, and it was difficult for them to penetrate into *Persia*, by any other Avenues; and as they imagined it impracticable to cross the *Palus Maeotis*, they were altogether unacquainted with the *Romans*, so that whilst other Nations of *Barbarians* ravaged the Empire, these confined them within the Limits which their Ignorance had drawn around them.

It has been the Opinion of some¹, that the Slime which was rolled down by the Current of the *Tanais*, had by Degrees formed a Kind of Incrustation on the Surface of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, over which these People are supposed to have passed. Others^m inform us, that two young *Scythians* being in full Pursuit of a Hind, the terrified Creature swam over that Arm of the Sea, upon which the Youths immediately following her in the same Track, were exceedingly astonished to find themselves in a new World; and at the Return to the old one, they gave their Countrymenⁿ a particular Account of the strange Lands, and, if I may be indulged in the Expression, the inviting *Indies* they had lately discovered.

¹ *Zozimus*. 1. 4.

^m *Jornandes de rebus Geticis*. The Miscellaneous Hist. of *Procopius*.

ⁿ *Vide Sozomen*. 1. 6.

Upon this Information, an innumerable Army of *Huns* immediately passed those Streights, and meeting first with the *Goths*, made that People fly before them: It should seem as if these mighty Countries poured their Nations out precipitately upon one another, and that *Asia* had acquired a new Weight to make it preponderate the *European* Power.

The *Goths* fled in the utmost Confusion to the Banks of the *Danube*, and with a suppliant Air intreated the *Romans* to allow them a Place of Refuge. The Flatterers ^o of *VALENS* improved this Conjunction, and represented it as a fortunate Conquest of a new People, who by the Accession of their Numbers would defend and enrich the Empire.

VALENS ordered them to be admitted into his Territories, upon delivering up their Arms, ^p but his Officers suffered them to repurchase with their Money as many as they pleased; they were afterwards distributed into several Allotments of Land; but the *Goths* ^q, contrary to the Custom of the *Huns*,

^o *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 29.

^p Several of those who had received these Orders abandoned themselves to a brutal Passion for some of the male Refugees, others were ensnared by the Beauty of the young *Barbarians* of the other Sex, and became the Captives of their female Slaves: A third sort were corrupted by Presents in Money, Linen Habits, and fringed Mantles, and all their Thoughts only tended to enrich their Houses with Slaves, and to stock their Farms with Cattle. *Dexip.*

^q See the *Gotick History* by *Priscus*, who has set this Difference of Customs in a clear Light. It may be asked perhaps how it was possible for Nations who never cultivated their Lands, to be so powerful, when those of *America* are so very weak: It is because Peo-

Huns, did not cultivate the Portions of Ground assigned them. They were even left destitute of the promised Supplies of Corn, and were ready to perish amidst a Land of Plenty ; they were armed for War, and yet unjustly insulted. In Consequence of these Provocations they ravaged all the Country from the *Danube* to the *Bosphorus* ; they destroyed VALENS and all his Army, and repassed the *Danube* only to quit the hideous Solitude they had effected by their Devastations.

ple who follow a pastoral Life are furnished with a better Subsistence, than those who live by the Chace.

It appears by the Account given by *Ammianus Marcellinus* that the *Huns* in their first Settlements did not manure their Lands, and only subsisted on their Flocks and Herds in a Country that abounded with rich Pastures, and was watered with many Rivers ; such is the Practice of the Inhabitants of little *Tartary*, which is Part of the same Country. And it is probable that the Nations we have been speaking of, having, after their Migrations from their native Land, settled in Countries that afforded little or no Pasturage for their Cattle, applied themselves to the Cultivation of the Soil.

¹ See *Zozimus* l. 4.

See also *Dexippus's Extract of the Embassies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

An Account of some new Maxims received by the ROMANS.

Sometimes the pusillanimous Spirit of the Emperors, and frequently the defenceless State of the Empire, made the People employ their Money to appease the Nations who threatened to invade them; but the desired Peace could never be effectually purchased, because those, who sold it could whenever they pleased, oblige the *Romans* to buy it again.

It is much better to hazard an unsuccessful War, than to part with great Sums for a precarious Peace; for a Prince is always respected when it is known he will make a long Resistance before he can be vanquish'd.

Besides, such Gratifications as these were chang'd into Tribute at last, and tho' they were free at the Beginning, they became necessary in the Event, and pass'd for an acquired Property: For which Reason, when an Emperor refused them to some particular People, or was not dispos'd to give them so much as they demanded, they immediately declared themselves his mortal Enemies. To produce an Instance or two, from a thousand: The Army which *Julian* led against the *Perians*,^a was pursued in its Retreat from the East, by the *Arabians*, to whom the customary Tribute had been refused; and in a short time afterwards, in the Reign of *Valentinian*, the *Germans*^b who had been offered more inconsiderable Presents than usual, grew exasperated at that disobliging Frugality, and

^a *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 24.

^b *Idem.* l. 26.

these Northern People being already influenced by a Point of Honour avenged themselves, for this pretended Insult, by a cruel War.

All those Nations who surrounded the Empire in Europe and Asia, exhausted it by Degrees of its Riches ; and as the Romans derived their Grandeur and Power from the Gold and Silver, which flowed into the Empire from the Coffers of so many Kings ; they now grew weak and despicable, because the same Gold and Silver was drained from them by other Nations.

The Misconduct of Politicians is not always voluntary, but happens frequently to be the unavoidable Consequence of their particular Situation, and therefore one Inconvenience is generally the Offspring of another.

The Army as we have already declared, became very expensive to the State, and the Soldiers had three Sorts of Advantages ; their ordinary Pay, Donations of Recompence after their Services, and accidental Liberalities, which were often claimed

*“ You would willingly be rich, said Julian to his mutinous Army, there’s Persia for your Purpose, let us march thither ; for believe me, all the Riches of the Roman Republick are now no more, our Poverty is owing to those who persuaded our Prince to purchase Peace from the Barbarians. Our Treasury is exhausted, our Cities are in Ruins, and our Provinces looked dreadful with Desolation. An Emperor who knows no Riches but those of the Mind is not ashamed to acknowledge a virtuous and irreproachable Poverty. You may revolt if you are so disposed ; for my Part, either Death shall relieve me, for I scorn a Life of which the least Fever can deprive me, as effectually as my Sword ; or I will retire from the World, for I have not passed my Days in such a Manner as to be incapable of a private Life. *Amm. Marcel.* l. 24.*

as stated Properties by a Body of Men who had both Princes and People in their Power.

The Inability of the People to furnish these Ex-pences, obliged them to employ a less chargeable Soldiery, and Treaties were struck up with barbarous Nations who had neither the Luxury of the *Roman Army*, nor the same Spirit and Pretensions.

There was another Advantage, besides this; for as the *Barbarians* poured their Troops into a Country with the greatest Precipitation, the *Romans* being unprovided for their Reception, and finding it sometimes difficult to raise Levies in the Provinces, were obliged to hire another Party of *Barbarians*, who were always mercenary, and eager for Battle and Plunder. This Expedient had its Use in the present Emergency, but when that was over, the *Romans* found it as difficult to rid themselves of their new Allies, as of their Enemies themselves.

The ancient *Romans* never suffered the auxiliary Troops to outnumber their own, in their Armies; ¹ and tho' their Allies might properly be reputed their Subjects; yet they had no Inclination to let those Subjects be better Warriors than themselves.

But in the latter Times, this Proportion of the Auxiliaries was not only disregarded, but even the national Troops were composed of *Barbarian* Soldiers.

Thus were Customs establish'd, quite opposite to those which had render'd the *Romans* Masters of the World, and as the Genius of their former Politics always prompted them to reserve the military Art to themselves, and exclude their Neighbours from any Participation of its Principles, they now

¹ This Observation is made by *Vegetius*, and it appears from *Livy*, that if the Auxiliaries sometimes exceeded the *Romans* in Number, the Superiority was very inconsiderable.

extinguished it in their own People, and establish'd it among Foreigners.

Take this *Compendium* of the *Roman History*; they subdued all Nations, by their Maxims, but when they had so far succeeded, their Republick could not subsist any longer; the Plan of their Government must be changed, and Maxims contrary to the first, being then introduced, they were divested of all their Grandeur.

Fortune never interposes in the Government of this World, and we may be convinced of this Truth by the *Romans*, who enjoyed a continual Series of Prosperity when they regulated their Conduct by one invariable Plan; but they suffered an uninterrupted Train of Calamities, when they acted upon different Principles. There are a set of general Causes, either moral or physical, which operate in every Monarchy, and either raise and maintain it, or else involve it in Ruin. All accidental Conjunctions are subordinate to these Causes; and if the Hazard of a Battle, which in other Words is no more than a particular Cause, has been destructive to a State, some general Cause presided and made a single Battle be the inevitable Ruin of that State. In a Word, the Tendency of the main Principle draws after it all the particular Incidents.

We are sensible, that for two Centuries past, the *Danish* Troops have been generally defeated by the *Swedes*, we may therefore conclude, that, independent of the Bravery of the two Nations, and the Chance of War, either their civil or military Government is disconcerted by some secret Flaw which produces this Effect, and I am of Opinion it may easily be discovered.

In a Word, the *Romans* lost their military Discipline, and even neglected it in their very Arms.

Vegetius

Vegetius^c acquaints us, that the Soldiers finding them too ponderous, obtain'd the Emperor *Gratian's* Permission to quit their Coats of Mail; and soon after their Helmets, and when their Bodies were thus defenceless, they grew attentive to nothing but Flight.

The same Author adds, they had lost the Art of fortifying their Camp, and that by this Negligence they were easily overwhelmed by the *Barbarian* Horse.

The *Romans* arrived at universal Monarchy not only by the Arts of War, but likewise by their Wisdom, their Perseverance, their Passion for Glory, and their heroic Love for their Country: And when even these Virtues disappeared under the Emperors, and they had only the Art military among them, yet this alone, notwithstanding the Weakness and Tyranny of their Princes, enabled them to preserve their former Acquisitions. But when Corruption had at last insinuated itself among the Soldiery, they became the Prey of every Nation.

An Empire founded by Arms, must likewise have Arms for its Support. But as a People, when their State is in Confusion, are at a Loss how to rectify their civil Disorders; in the same Manner, when they enjoy a profound Peace, and are respected for their Power, they never imagine this calm Scene may change, and consequently neglect their military Force, from whence as they have nothing more to hope, so they fancy they have all things to fear, and sometimes proceed so far as to weaken that Basis of their Welfare.

It was an inviolable Law among the *Romans*, that whoever abandoned his Post or quitted his Arms in the Combat, should be punished with Death. *Julian* and *Valentian*, had reinforced the

^c *De re Militari*, l. 1. c. 20.

ancient Penalties in this Particular, but the *Barbarians* who were taken into the *Roman Pay*,^f and were accustom'd to make War in the Manner now practised by the *Tartars*, who fly in order to rally, and are more solicitous for Plunder than martial Reputation, were incapable of conforming to such severe Regulations.

The Discipline of the ancient *Romans* was so strict, that they have had Generals who sentenced their own Children to die, for gaining a Battle without their Orders: But when they were intermixed with the *Barbarians*, they contracted from that Association, the same Spirit of Independancy which marks out the Character of those Nations; and such who read the Wars of *Belisarius* with the *Goths*, will see a General very frequently disobey'd by his Officers.

Sylla and *Sertorius* amidst the Fury of civil Wars would rather die than suffer any Action to be committed from whence *Mithridates* could derive the least Advantage; but in the succeeding Times, when a Minister^g or any Grandee imagined it would be favourable to his Avarice, his Revenge, or Ambition to admit the *Barbarians* into the Empire, he immediately permitted them to give a loose to their Depredations.

^f They would not submit to the *Roman* Discipline. See *Ammianus Marcellinus* l. 18. who relates it as an extraordinary Circumstance, that they condescended in one Instance to please *Julian*, who intended to fortify several Places belonging to the State.

^g This was not to be wondered at in that Mixture of Nations, who had been us'd to a wandering Life, and had no Knowledge of any Country of their own, since entire Bodies of them would frequently side with the Enemy who had conquered them, even against their own Nation. See *Procopius* Account of the *Goths* under *Vitiges*.

No State is more necessitated for Tributes, than those who are Weak, because this Circumstance obliges them to augment their Charges in Proportion to the People's Inability to defray them; and therefore the Tributes in the *Roman* Provinces became insupportable.

It would not be improper to read *Salvian's*^h Account of the horrible Exactions that were charg'd upon the People. The Citizens were so harassed by the Farmers of the Revenue, that they were oblig'd either to seek a Refuge among the *Barbarians*, or surrender their Liberty to the first of their insatiable Countrymen who would accept of such a Present.

ⁱ This may account for the Relations we find in our *French* History, of the Patience with which the *Gauls* supported a Revolution calculated to establish that shocking Distinction between a gallant Nation, and a Community of servile Wretches, I say between a Nation who retained their Liberty and military Privileges, and an ignoble Body of People, who were destined by the Laws of their Servitude, to cultivate the Land, and which was to be the constant Employment of each Individual.

^h See his whole fifth Book, *de Gubernatione Dei*. See also in the Account of the Embassy written by *Priscus*, the Speech of a *Roman* who had settled among the *Huns*, on his Happiness in that Country.

ⁱ The *Barbarians* introduced nothing but what had been practised with greater Severity before their Settlement in those Parts. See *Salvian* l. 5.

CHAPTER XIX.

Some Particulars of the Grandeur of ATTILA.

The Establishment of the Barbarians accounted for. Reasons why the Western Empire was overturn'd, before that in the East.

AS Christianity was establish'd when the Empire was in a declining Condition, the Professors of this Religion reproach'd the Pagans for that Decay, and these retorted the Charge on the religious Doctrines of their Antagonists. The Christians reply'd, that *Dioclesian*^a ruin'd the Empire, by associating his Three Colleagues; because each Emperor would be altogether as expensive, and maintain'd as great Armies as could have subsisted had there been but one Sovereign; in consequence of which, those who furnish'd the Contributions being unequally proportion'd to the Number of the Receivers, the Charge became so excessive, that the Lands were forsaken by the Husbandmen, and for want of Cultivation lay waste, and were cover'd with wild and barren Forests.

The Pagans, on the other hand, were perpetually exclaiming against the strange Innovations in Religion, introduc'd by their Adversaries and never heard of till those Days; and as the Overflowings of the Tyber, and other prejudicial Effects of Nature, were, in the flourishing State of Rome, ascrib'd to the Displeasure of the Gods; so the Calamities of declining Rome were imputed to a religious Novelty, and the Subversion of the ancient Altars.

^a *LaGantius, de morte Persecutor.*

Symmachus the Prefect, in a Letter ^b to the Emperors, relating to the Altar of Victory, attack'd the Christian Religion with Arguments extremely popular, and consequently very seducing, and had Art enough to set them off with all the Plausibility Invention could furnish.

What Circumstance, says he, can lead us more effectually to the Knowledge of the Gods, than the Experience of our former Prosperity? We ought to be faithful to such a Series of Ages, and pursue the same Track in which our Fathers so happily follow'd their Ancestors. Imagine *Rome* her self speaks to you in this Manner: O Imperial Princes! Compassionate Fathers of your Country! Look with Eyes of Veneration on those Years of mine, wherein I always conform'd to the Ceremonies of my Predecessors. Those sacred Institutions have made the Universe obedient to my Laws. These were the Allies that chased *Hannibal* from my Walls, and drove the *Gauls* in Confusion from the Capitol. We fervently ask Peace for the Gods of our Country, nay we sollicit it in the Anguish of our Souls, for our Compatriot Deities! We have no Inclination to engage in Disputes which are only proper for idle Persons, and we would express our selves in the Language of Supplication, and not of War.

Symmachus was answer'd by Three celebrated Authors. *Orofus* composed his History to prove there had always been Calamities in the World, as great as those complain'd of by the Pagans. *Salvian* likewise writ his Book ^c, wherein he maintains, that the Ravages of the Barbarians were to be imputed to the degenerate Behaviour of the

^b Letters of *Symmac.* L. X. l. 54.

^c Of the Government of the Deity.

Christians: And St. *Austin*^d demonstrates, that the City of Heaven is very different from that City on Earth, in which the ancient *Romans* receiv'd, for a few human Virtues, a Recompence as vain as the Virtues themselves.

We have already observ'd, that part of the Politics of the antient *Romans* consisted in dividing all the Powers that gave them any Umbrage, but that Scheme was defeated in after Times, and *Rome* could not prevent **ATTILA** from conquering all the Northern Nations: He extended his Victories from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*, demolish'd all the Forts and military Works on the Banks of those Rivers, and made both the Empires tributary.

THEODOSIUS, said he^e, with an insolent Air, is descended from a Father as noble as mine, but the Moment I compell'd him to pay Tribute to me, he fell from the Grandeur of his Extraction, and became my Vassal; and therefore 'tis unjust in him to act like a base Slave, and endeavour to prejudice his Master by Treachery.

An Emperor, said he, upon another Occasion, ought not to be a Liar; he promised one of my Subjects to give him the Daughter of *Saturnilus* in Marriage, and I will immediately declare War against him, if he presumes to depart from his Word; but if the Disobedience of those about him put it out of his Power to be punctual, I will march to his Affistance.

It is not to be imagin'd that *Attila* was induc'd by any Moderation and Lenity of Temper, to let the *Romans* subsist; he only conform'd himself to

^d Of the City of God.

^e History of the *Gotbs*, and Relation of the Embassy, written by *Priscus*. This Emperor was *Theodosius the Younger*.

the Genius of his Nation, which prompted them to awe, and not to conquer foreign States. This Prince retiring from the Splendor of Majesty to his Mansion built of Wood, according to the Representation of *Priscus*^f; though at the same time he was Lord of all the barbarous Nations, and in some degree Master of the chief part of those who were civiliz'd^g, was one of the greatest Monarchs recorded in History.

Ambassadors were dispatch'd to his Court, both from the Eastern and Western Empires of the *Romans*, to receive his Laws and implore his Favour. Sometimes he commanded them to deliver up the *Huns* who had deserted from his Armies, or the *Roman Slaves* who had escap'd from the Vigilance of his Officers. At other times he would not be satisfy'd till some Minister of the Emperor was surrender'd into his Power. He charg'd the Empire of the East with a Tribute of Two hundred thousand Pounds of Gold; he receiv'd the yearly Sum allowed to a *Roman General*, and sent those he intended to reward to *Constantinople*, that they might be gratify'd to their utmost Wish, making by this Means a constant Traffic of the Apprehensions of the *Romans*.

^f History of the Goths. *Hæ sedes Regis Barbarium totam tenentis; hæc captis Civitatibus habitacula præponerbat.* This was the Mansion in which the Monarch of all the Barbarian Nations resided; this the Habitation which he preferr'd to the stately Cities he had conquer'd. Jornande de Rebus Geticis.

^g It appears by the Account given by *Priscus*, that the Court of *Attila* had some Thoughts of subjecting even the *Persians*.

He was fear'd by his Subjects ^h, but we have no Reason to believe they entertain'd any Aversion to his Person: He was surprizingly fierce and impetuous, and at the same time exceeding politic and artful. He appear'd violent in his Rage, but had sufficient Presence of Mind to know when to pardon an Offence or defer a Punishment, as the Circumstances were more or less agreeable to his Interest. War was never his Choice, when he could derive sufficient Advantages from Peace. He was faithfully serv'd even by the Kings who were subordinate to his Power; and had collected into his own Conduct all the antient Simplicity of the Northern Manners. In a Word, we can never sufficiently admire this gallant Sovereign of a People, whose very Children were warm'd with enthusiastic Rage, at the Relation of their Father's Bravery; whilst those Fathers shed manly Tears, because they were incapacitated by Age to imitate their martial Children.

All the Barbarian Nations, after his Death, were divided into several independent Bodies; but the *Romans* were then so weak, that the most considerable People were in a Condition to molest them.

The Empire was not ruin'd by any particular Invasion, but sunk gradually under the Weight of the several Attacks made upon it, after that general Assault it sustain'd in the Time of *Gallus*: It seem'd indeed, to be re-establish'd, because none of its Territories were dismembred from the main Body; but it was stooping to its Fall by several Degrees of Declension, till it was at once laid low in the Reigns of *ARCADIUS* and *HONORIUS*.

^h *Jornandes* and *Priscus* have drawn the Character of this Prince, and describ'd the Manners of his Court.

In vain did the *Romans* chase the Barbarians from their Settlements in the Empire; that People, without any Compulsion would have retir'd, to deposite their Spoils in their own Country. With as little Success did *Rome* endeavour to exterminate that Nation, since her Cities were still sack'dⁱ, her Villages consum'd with Flames, and her Families either slaughter'd or dispers'd.

When one Province had been wasted, the Barbarians who succeeded the first Ravagers, meeting with nothing for their Purpose, proceeded to another. Their Devastations at first were limited to *Thrace*, *Mygia*, and *Pannonia*, and when these Countries were ruin'd, they destroyed *Macedonia* *Thessaly* and *Greece*; from thence they expatiated to *Noricum*. The Empire, that is to say, those Tracts of Land which were not depopulated, was continually shrinking, and *Italy* at last became the Frontiers.

The Reason why the Barbarians established themselves in no fix'd Settlements in the Reigns of *Gallus* and *Gallienus*, was because the Countries about them had something left that was worth plundering.

Thus the *Normans*, who in some measure resembled the Conquerors of the Empire, ravag'd *France* for several Centuries, and when at last they could find no more Booty, they thought fit to accept of a depopulated Province, and parcell'd it into several Properties.

Scythia in those Times, lying waste and uncultivated^k, the Inhabitants were frequently subject to

ⁱ The *Goths* were certainly a pernicious Nation, they destroyed all the Husbandmen in *Thrace*, and cut off the Hands of every Charioteer. *Byzantine History of Malchus*, in the Extract of the Embassies.

^k The *Goths*, as we have intimated, did not cultivate their Lands.

Famine, and subsisted in a great Measure by their Commerce with the *Romans*¹, who furnish'd them with Provisions from the Provinces bordering on the *Danube*. The Barbarians in return gave them the Booty and Prisoners they had taken, and the Gold and Silver which the *Romans* paid them for their Friendship. But when the Empire could no longer afford them a sufficient Tribute for their Subsistence^m, they were oblig'd to fix themselves in some Settlement.

The Western Empire was destroy'd before that in the East, for these Reasons.

When the Barbarians passed the *Danube*, they then found themselves block'd up on the left Hand by *Bosphorus of Thrace*, the City of *Constantinople*, and all the Forces of the Eastern Empire; this made it necessary for them to bend their March to the Right towards *Illyria*, and so proceed Westward. That part of the Country was then crowded with a vast conflux of several Nations; and, as the Passages into *Asia* were the best guarded, the whole Body of the People bore with a full Tide into *Europe*, whereas the Forces of the Barbarians were separated in their first Invasion.

The *Vandals* call'd them *Trulli*, which was the Name of a small Measure, because they once sold them such a Measure of Corn very dear, in a Famine. *Olympiodor. in Biblioth. Phot. L. XXX.*

¹ *Priscus* relates in his History, that Markets were establish'd by Treaties on the Banks of the *Danube*.

^m When the *Goths* sent to desire *Zeno* to receive *Theuderic* the Son of *Triarius* into his Alliance, on the Terms accorded by him to *Theuderic* the Son of *Balamer*, the Senate being consulted on this Occasion, said the Revenues of the Empire were not sufficient to support two Gothic Nations, and that the Alliance of only one of them was to be consented to. *Malchus's History, in the Extract of the Embassies.*

The Empire being parcell'd out into two great Portions ⁿ, the Eastern Emperors who were then in Alliance with the Barbarians ^o, would not break it to affist the Princes of the West: And as all the naval Power was transferr'd to the East ^p, as well as to *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Phœnicia*, *Ionia* and *Greece*, which were the only Countries where any Commerce was carry'd on; the *Vandals* ^q, with their Barbarian Confederates, burst like a Torrent into every part of the Western Empire.

The Emperors of the East were still more injurious than these fierce People; for as those Princes were desirous to disencumber themselves of such troublesome Neighbours, they persuaded them to carry their Conquests into the West. Thus *Zeno* to rid himself of *Theodoric*, prevail'd upon him to invade *Italy*, which had already been ravaged by *Alaric*.

Rome might justly be call'd a City of no Force, and could easily be starv'd by an Enemy. The vast Extent of its Walls made it almost impracticable for the Inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was situated in a Plain, it might be storm'd without much Difficulty. Besides this, no Re-

ⁿ This Partition of the Empire was very prejudicial to the Affairs of the Western Romans. *Priscus*, L. II.

^o *Honorius* was inform'd, that the *Visigoths* had made a Descent into the Western Empire, after an Alliance with *Arcadius*. *Procop. of the Vandal War*.

^p When they desir'd a Fleet of the Eastern Romans, they were refus'd by them, and they alledg'd for their Excuse, that they were in Alliance with *Genseric*. *Priscus*, L. II.

^q An Embassy was sent to *Constantinople* by the *Italians*, to represent the Impossibility of supporting Affairs without a Reconciliation with the *Vandals*. *Priscus*, L. II.

cruits were to be expected, for the Number of People was so extremely diminish'd, that the Emperors were oblig'd to retire to *Ravenna*, a City once fortify'd by the Sea, as *Venice* is at this Time. The *Romans* being generally abanidon'd by their Princes, began to take the sovereign Power into their own Hands, and stipulated for their Safety by Treaties¹, which is the most likely Method of acquiring the Supreme Authority.

This was the fatal Period of the Western Empire. *Rome* ascended to such a Height of Grandeur, because the Scenes of her former Wars open'd in Succession, and by an incredible Felicity of Affairs she was never attack'd by one Nation till another had been first destroy'd; but *Rome* it self was overwhelm'd at last, because she was invaded at once by all the Nations around her.

¹ In the Time of *Honorius*, *Alaric*, who besieged *Rome*, oblig'd that City to enter into an Alliance with him, even against the Emperor, who was in no Condition to oppose it. Procop. *War of the Goths*, L. I. Zozim. L. VI.

Armorica and *Brittany* seeing themselves forsaken, began to regulate themselves by their own Laws. Zozim. L. VI.

CHAPTER XX.

1. *The Conquests of JUSTINIAN.* 2. *Some Account of his Government.*

AS this vast Body of People broke all at once like a Flood into the Empire, they mutually incommoded one another, and all the Politics of those Times consisted in setting them at Variance together: This was a Circumstance easy to accomplish, their Avarice and fierce Disposition greatly contributing to make it practicable. The largest Part of them was therefore destroy'd before they could fix themselves in any Settlement, and this was the Reason why the Empire of the East still subsisted for some time.

The Northern Regions were likewise exhausted at last, and no longer pour'd out those innumerable Armies they originally produc'd; for after the first Invasion by the *Goths* and *Huns*, and especially since the Death of *Attila*, these People and their Successors appear'd in the Field with Force much inferior to the former in Number.

When the Nations, who assembled together in the Form of an Army, were distributed into peaceful Partitions of Land, much of their martial Vigor was abated, and as they were scatter'd thro' the Countries they had conquer'd, they were expos'd themselves to the same Invasions.

In this Situation of Affairs, JUSTINIAN undertook the Recovery of *Africa* and *Italy*, and accomplish'd the same Designs which the *French* so happily executed against the *Visigoths*, the *Burgundians*, the *Lombards* and the *Saracens*.

When Christianity was first planted among the *Barbarians*, the *Arian Sect* was predominant in the Empire, and VALENS sent Priests to them, who

were

were their first Apostles. Now in the Interval from their Conversion to their Establishment, this Sect fell into Disreputation among the *Romans*; for which Reasons, when the *Barbarians* of this Persuasion found all the Country orthodox, and could never insinuate themselves into the Affections of the People, it was easy for the Emperors to incommod them.

We may likewise add, that the *Barbarians* being unqualify'd for the Siege of Towns, and much more so for their Defence, suffer'd the Walls to drop into Ruins. *Procopius* informs us, that *Belisarius* found all the *Italian* Cities in this Condition; and those of *Africa* had already been dismantled by *Genseric*^a, with a *Gothic* View of fortifying the Inhabitants.

The Generality of these Northern People, after they had establish'd themselves in the Provinces of the South, soon degenerated into the unmanly Softness of those Regions, and became incapable of the Fatigues of War^b. The *Vandals* were emasculated with Pleasures; a luxuriant Table, an effeminate Habit, the Delicacy of Baths, the enervating Lull of Musick, gay Dances, florid Gardens, and splendid Theatres were now become their necessary Gratifications.

They no longer disquieted the *Romans*^c, says *Malchus*^d, when they discontinu'd those Armies which *Genseric* perpetually kept prepar'd for any Expedition, and with which he prevented the Vigilance of his Enemies, and astonish'd all the World with the Rapidity of his Enterprises.

^a *Procop. War of the Vandals*, L. I.

^b *Ibid. L. II.*

^c In the Time of *Honorius*.

^d *Byzantine History*, in the Extract of the Embassies.

The Cavalry of the *Romans*, and that of the *Huns*^c their Auxiliaries, were very expert at drawing the Bow, but that of the *Goths*^f and *Vandals* fought only with the Sword and Lance, and were unpractised in the distant Combat; for which Reason *Belisarius* ascribes part of his Success to this Difference^g.

Justinian could not fit out more than fifty Ships against the *Vandals*, and when *Belisarius* embarked he had but five thousand Soldiers. This was undoubtedly a bold Expedition; and *Leo* who before that Time had sent against the same People a Fleet of all the Ships in the East, and manned with a hundred thousand Soldiers, could not conquer *Africa*, and was even in danger of losing the whole Empire.

These great Fleets have been as little Successful as very numerous Land Armies, for as they

^c *Justinian* receiv'd signal Services from the *Huns*, a People from whom the *Parthians* sprung, and these Descendants combated like their Ancestors. When the *Huns* lost all their Power by the Divisions which the great Number of *Attila's* Children occasion'd, they serv'd the *Romans* in the Quality of Auxiliaries, and form'd their best Cavalry. Each of the barbarous Nations was distinguish'd by their particular Manner of combating as well as by their Arms. The *Goths* and *Vandals* were formidable at the drawn Sword; the *Huns* were admirable Bowmen; the *Sueves* were serviceable Infantry; the *Alans* were heavily arm'd, and the *Heruli* were a flying Troop.

^f See *Procopius*'s Hist. of Wars of the *Vandals*, I. 1. and his War of the *Goths*, I. 1. The Gothic Bowmen fought on foot, and were but indifferently disciplined.

^g The *Romans* having suffered their Infantry to be weakened, placed all their Force, in the Horse, and the more so because they were obliged to spring suddenly to every Part to check the Incursions of the *Barbarians*.

impoverish and unpeople the State, so should the Expedition be of a considerable Length, or any Misfortune befall them they can neither be succoured or recruited ; and if one Part be lost, the other becomes insignificant ; because Ships of War, as well as Transports, Cavalry, Infantry, Ammunition, in a Word all the particulars, have a necessary Dependance on the whole : The Tardiness of an Enterprise makes those who engage in it always find the Enemy prepared to receive them ; besides such an Expedition is seldom made in a proper Season, and generally overtaken by the stormy Months, because such a vast Number of Preparations are hardly ever compleated till the Season is too far advanced.

Belisarius invaded *Africa*, and very advantageously supplied himself with Provisions from *Sicily*, in Consequence of a Treaty made with *Amalason-ta* Queen of the *Goths*. When he was sent to attack *Italy*, he took Notice that the *Goths* received their Subsistence from *Sicily*, and therefore began his Expedition with the Conquest of that Island, by which Proceeding he at the same Time starved his Enemies, and plentifully supplied his own Army with all Accommodations.

Belisarius took *Carthage*, *Rome*, and *Ravenna*, and sent the Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, Captives to *Constantinople*, where the ancient Triumphs were renewed after a long Interval of Years ^b.

The extraordinary Qualities of this great Man ⁱ, naturally account for his Success. A General who was Master of all the Maxims of the first *Romans* was then at the Head of such an Army as that brave People anciently composed.

^b *Justinian* only granted him a Triumph for *Africa*.

ⁱ See *Suidas* under the Article *Belisarius*.

Virtues that are very shining are generally concealed or lost in Servitude, but the tyrannical Government of *Justinian*, could not oppress the Grandeur of that Soul nor the noble Superiority of such a Genius.

Narses the Eunuch was thrown into this Reign to make it still more illustrious: As he had received his Education in the Palace he was honoured with a greater Share of the Emperor's Confidence; for Princes always esteem their Courtiers the most faithful of their Subjects.

On the other Hand, the irregular Conduct of *Justinian*, his Profusions, Tyranny and Rapine, his intoxicated Fondness for Building, changing and reforming, his Inconstancy in his Designs, a severe and weak Reign, made still more incommodeous by a lingring old Age, were a Train of real Calamities, intermixed with unprofitable Success, and a false Glitter of unsubstantial Glory.

These Victories were not the Effect of any solid Power subsisting in the Empire, but resulted from the lucky Conjunction of some particular Circumstances, and were soon rendered ineffectual; for whilst the Army was pursuing its fortunate Beginnings, a new swarm of barbarous Nations passed the *Danube* and spread Desolation through *Illyria*, *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and the *Perians* in four Invasions weakened the Empire with incurable Wounds.

The more rapid these Conquests appeared, the less durable was their Foundation, and *Italy* and *Africa* were hardly wrested from the Enemy, before it became necessary to recover them a second Time by new Victories.

Justinian had taken from the Theatre a^k Woman who had long prostituted herself to immodest

^k The Empress *Theodora*.

Pleasures, and she governed him with an Authority that has no Parallel in History, perpetually intermixing his Affairs with the Passions and fanciful Inconsistencies of her Sex, in Consequence of which she defeated the victorious Progress of his Arms, and disconcerted the most favourable Events.

The Eastern People were always accustomed to a Plurality of Wives in order to deprive the Sex of that strange Ascendant they maintain over Man in our Climates, but as *Polygamy* was prohibited by Law at *Constantinople*, that Circumstance resigned the Empire to the Will of a Female, or, in other Words, abandoned the Government to the Mismanagement of many natural Frailties.

The People of *Constantinople* had for many Years been divided into two Factions denominated the *Blue* and the *Green*: They derived their original from the Approbation usually given in the Theatres to some particular Actors, and when Races were exhibited in the Circus the *Charioteers* who were dressed in green disputed the Prize with those who were habited in blue, and each of these Spectators became interested even to Madness, in the Competition of those Colours.

These two Factions being diffused through all the Cities in the Empire proportioned their Animosities to the Rank and Grandeur of those Cities, or, as we may justly say, to the Indolence and idle Lives of the generality of the People.

But tho' such Divisions are always necessary in a Republick, and may be considered as essential to its Support, they are infallibly destructive to an arbitrary Government because they can only change the Person of the Sovereign, but never contribute to the Establishment of the Laws or the Discontinuation of Abuses.

Justinian

Justinian who favoured the Faction of the *Blue*¹, and denied all Justice to the *Green*, increased the mutual Inveteracy of both Parties, and consequently strengthen'd them in the State.

These contending Parties proceeded so far as even to disannul the Authority of the Magistrates : The *Blues* were in no Apprehension of the Laws because the Emperor protected them against their Severity, and the *Greens*^m began to disregard them because they could not defend them from Insults.

All the Bands of Friendship, Affinity and Gratitude, were cut asunder and whole Families destroyed each other : Every Villain who intended to be remarkably wicked belonged to the Faction of the *Blue*, and every Man who was either robbed or assassinated was a Partisan for the *Green*.

We may add, that the Government, was, if possible, more cruel than senseless, and the Emperor not satisfied with the general Injustice of loading his Subjects with excessive Impositions, resolved to ruin them in their private Affairs by all imaginable Tyrannies.

I am far from entertaining an implicit Belief of all the Particulars related by *Procopius* in his secret History, because the pompous Commendations he, in his other Works, bestows on this Prince, may make his Veracity a little questionable in this, where he paints him out as the most stupid and inhuman Tyrant that ever lived.

¹ This political Distemper was of ancient Date, for *Suetonius* tells us that *Caligula*, because he was attach'd to the *Green* Faction, hated the People who applauded the other.

^m The Reader may form a good Idea of the Spirit of those Times, by consulting *Theophanes* who relates a long Conversation in the Theatre between the Emperor and the *Greens*.

On the other Hand there are two Circumstances which incline me to pay some Regard to this secret History ; for in the first Place, the Particulars seem better connected with the astonishing Weakness which discovered it self at the latter End of this Reign, and in those of the succeeding Emperors.

The other Circumstance is that Monument which still exists among us, and is a Collection of the Laws of this Emperor, which, in the Course of a few Years, present us with greater Variations than are to be found in our Laws for the three last Centuries of our Monarchy.

These Variationsⁿ generally relate to Matters of so little Importance, that we can see no Reasons to induce a Legislator to make them, unless we refer to the secret History for a Solution, and acknowledge that this Prince exposed his Judgments and his Laws equally to sale.

But the political State of the Government received the greatest Injury from his Project of establishing a general Uniformity of Opinion in Matters of Religion, and in Circumstances that render'd his Zeal as indiscreet as possible.

The ancient *Romans* fortified their Empire by indulging all Sorts of religious Worship ; but their Posterity destroyed it by rooting out the various Sects, whose Doctrines were not predominant.

These Sects were composed of entire Nations, some of which, as the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, had retained their ancient Religion after they were conquered by the *Romans*, others were dispersed through the Country, as the Followers of *Montanus*, in *Pbrygia*, the *Manichees*, the *Sabbatarians*, the *Arians*, in the other Provinces, besides which, the generality of the People in the Country, continued in Idolatry, and were infatuated with a Religion as gross as their Understandings.

ⁿ See the Institutes of *Justinian*.

These

These Sects *Justinian* caused to be extirpated, by the military as well as the civil Power, and the persecuted People, revolting in their own Defence, he thought himself obliged to exterminate them from the Empire, in consequence of which he depopulated several Provinces, and whilst he imagined himself increasing the Number of the faithful, he was only diminishing the Race of Mankind.

Procopius assures us that *Palestine*, by the Destruction of the *Samaritans*, was changed into a Desart; and this proceeding was the more singular, because, the very Zeal which weakened the Empire, in order to establish Religion, sprung out of the same Quarter from whence the *Arabians* afterwards fallied with an Intention to subvert it.

But nothing could be more aggravating than that the Emperor whilst he was so averse to all Toleration himself, should yet disagree with the Emperors in the most essential Points; he followed the Council of *Chalcedon*, and she favoured its Opposers; whether, as *Avgrius* says^o, they were sincere in this Proceeding or not, is uncertain.

When we read *Procopius's* Description of *Justinian's* Buildings, and the Forts and other Places of Defence he erected in all Parts, it naturally raises in our Minds the Idea of a flourishing State, but that Idea happens to be very delusive.

The ancient *Romans* had none of these Fortifications, but placed all their Security in their Armies, which they distributed along the Banks of Rivers, and raised Towers at proper Distances for the Lodgment of the Soldiers.

Afterwards indeed, when they had but very indifferent Armies, and frequently none at all, the

Frontiers ^P could not defend the Countries they limited, and therefore it became necessary to strengthen them; the Consequence of which was, they had more Fortifications, and less Force; many Places for Retreat, and very few for Security; the Country was only habitable about the Fortifications, and these were built in all Parts. The Condition of the Empire resembled that of *France*, in the Time of the *Normans*, ^q which was never so defenceless as when all its Villages were girt round with Walls.

We may venture to affirm therefore, that the whole Catalogue of *Justinian's* Forts, which fills several Pages in *Procopius*, only exhibites to us so many Monuments of the Weakness of the Empire.

^P *Augustus* establish'd nine such Frontiers, the Number of which increased in the following Reigns when the Barbarians began to appear in several Parts: And *Dion* l. 55. that in his Time, when *Alexander* was Emperor, there were thirty, as appears by the *Notitia Imperii* written since the Reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*: There were fifteen even in the Eastern Empire, and the Number was perpetually increasing. *Pamphylia*, *Lyconia*, and *Pisidia* were made Frontiers, and the whole Empire was covered with Fortifications, till at last *Aurelian* was obliged to fortify *Rome* it self.

^q And the *English*.

CHAPTER XXI.

Disorders in the Eastern Empire.

THE Persians, during this Period, were in a much happier Situation than the Romans; they had little Reason to be apprehensive of the Northern People ^a, because that Part of Mount Taurus which extends between the Caspian and Euxine Sea separated them from those Nations, and they effectually shut up a very narrow Pass, ^b which was the only practicable Avenue for the Cavalry; in every other Part the Barbarians were obliged to descend from frightful Precipices ^c and to quit their Horses in which all their military Strength consisted; and besides these Impediments they were block'd in by the Araxes, a River of great Depth, and which flows from West to East, all the Passages of which were easy to be defended.

With all these Advantages the Persians were in perfect Tranquillity with Respect to the Eastern Nations; on the South they were bounded by the Sea, and the Arabian Princes, who were partly their Allies, and partly in Confederacy with the Romans, were totally engaged in pillaging one another. The Persians therefore, had none whom they could properly call their Enemies but the Romans. We are sensible, said an Ambassador of Hormisdas ^d, that the Romans are engaged in several Wars, and are at variance with almost all Nations, whilst we, as they well know, have no Hostilities with any People but themselves.

^a The Huns.

^b Called the Caspian Straights.

^c Procopius of the Persian War. l. i.

^d Menander's Embassies.

The *Perſians* had cultivated the military Art to as great a Degree as it was neglected by the *Romans*. *Belizarius* ſaid to his Soldiers, the *Perſians* are not your Superior in Courage, and only ſurpaſs you in the Discipline of War.

They had likewiſe the ſame Superiority in the Cabinet as they preſerved in the Field, and de-manded Tribute of the *Romans*, under a Pretence that they maintained Garriſons in the *Caspian* Streights, as if each Nation had not a Right to guard its Frontiers. They obliged them to pay for Peace, and every Ceſſation of Arms, and did not ſcruple to make them purcaſe the very Time employed either in Negociations, or War.

The *Avari* having croſſ'd the *Danube*, the *Romans* who had ſeldom any Troops to oppoſe them, being engag'd againſt the *Perſians* when they ſhould have given Battle to the *Avari*, and having full Employment from thence when they ought to have fac'd the *Perſians*; were ſtill oblig'd to submit to a Tribute; and thus the Maſteſty of the Empire bow'd down before all Nations.

JUſTIN, **TIBERIUS** and **MAURICE** were very ſedulous to defend the Empire; the laſt of thefe Princes had ſome Virtues, but they were all ſullied by an Avarice almost incredibile in a great Monarch.

The King of the *Avari* offer'd to reſtore all his *Roman* Prisoners to *Maurice*, if he would ransom them at an incoſiderable Price for each Man; and this Propofal being rejected, he cauſ'd them all to be inhumanely muſter'd. The *Roman* Army was greatly exasperated at this Proceeding, and the Faction of the *Greens* making an Inſurrecſion at the ſame Time, a Centurion nam'd *PHOCAS* was raiſ'd to the Imperial Dignity, and he order'd *Maurice* and his Children to be put to Death.

The History of the *Grecian* Empire, for ſo we ſhall denote the Monarchy of the *Romans* for the

the future, is little more than a Series of Revolts, Seditions and Perfidy. The Subjects had no Idea of the Loyalty due to Princes, and there were so many Interruptions in the Succession of the Emperors, that the Title of *Porphyrogenitus*, which signifies one born in the Apartment where the Empress repos'd, was an Appellation which few Princes of the several Imperial Families could with any Propriety assume.

All the Paths that could be struck out to Empire were unexceptionable; and the Candidates were conducted to the Diadem by the Clergy, the Senate, the Peasants, the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, and the People of the Provincial Cities.

Christianity being now the prevailing Religion of the Empire, was intermix'd with several successive Heresies, which call'd aloud for Condemnation. *Arius* having deny'd the Divinity of the WORD; the *Macedonians* that of the HOLY SPIRIT; *Nestorius* the Unity of the Person of JESUS CHRIST; the *Eutychians* his two Natures; the *Monothelites* his two Wills; it became necessary to convoke Councils against them: But their Decisions not being universally receiv'd; several Emperors who had been seduc'd into these heretical Opinions, relapsed into the same Persuasions after they had been condemn'd; and as no Nation was ever so implacable against Heretics as the Greeks, who even imagin'd themselves polluted when they convers'd with any of that Clas, or had any Cohabitation with them; several Emperors, in Consequence of that popular Aversion, lost the Affections of their Subjects, and the People became persuaded that Princes who were so frequently rebellious against God, could never be chosen by Providence to be their Sovereigns.

A new Opinion, form'd by an Idea that it was unlawful to shed Christian Blood, and which daily grew,

grew more popular when the *Mohammedans* appear'd upon the Stage of military Action, was the Cause that Offences, in which Religion was not directly interested, were punish'd with great Moderation. Those who had spirited up an Insurrection, or fram'd any Attempt against the Person of the Prince, were only sentenced to lose their Eyes, to have their Hair or Noses cut off, or to suffer some other Mutilation. As these Offences might be committed with very little Hazard, they might likewise be attempted without much Courage^c.

A certain Veneration for the Regalia of Imperial Majesty drew the Eyes of all the People on those who presumed to wear them, and it was criminal to be either habited in Purple, or to keep it in a Wardrobe; but when a Man had once the Resolution to appear in that Dress, the Multitude immediately flock'd after him, because their Respect was more attached to the Apparel than the Person.

Ambition receiv'd greater Provocatives still, from the surprizing Infatuation of those Times; and there was hardly a Man of any considerable Consequence who could not accommodate to himself some Prediction that promised him the Empire.

As the Indispositions of the Mind are generally incurable^d, Judicial Astrology and the Art of pointing out Futurity by Objects seen in a Basin of Water, succeeded among the Christians, to the solemn Imposture of Divination by the Entrails,

^c Zeno greatly contributed to this mean Relaxation of Justice. See the *Byzantine History of Malchus*, cited in the Extract of the Embassies.

^d See the Life of *Andronicus Comnenus*, compiled by Nicetas.

of Victims or the Flight of Birds, which had been abolished with Paganism its Parent, and vain Promises became the Motives to most of the rash Actions of particular Persons, and constituted the Wisdom of Princes Councils.

The Calamities of the Empire daily increasing, it was natural to impute ill Success in War and dishonourable Treaties in Peace to the injudicious Conduct of those at the Helm.

One Revolution was now pregnant with another, and the Effect it self became a Cause: And as the Greeks had seen such a Succession of different Families on the Throne, they were not devoted to any; and since Fortune had created so many Emperors out of all Classes of People, no Birth was so obscure, and no Merit so inconsiderable as to be destitute of Hope.

Several Examples which had been familiar to the Nation, model'd the Genius of the People in general, and form'd a System of Manners which reign'd as imperiously as the Laws.

It should seem that great Enterprizes among us, are more impracticable than they were to the Antients; it is very difficult to conceal them, because Intelligence is now become so manageable, that every Prince has Ministers in each Court, and Traitors may possibly be lurking in all the Cabinets of Majesty.

The Invention of Posts has given Wings to Information, and can immediately waft it to all Parts

As great Undertakings are not to be accomplish'd without Money, and as Merchants are Masters of it since the Invention of Bills of Exchange; their Affairs are always connected with the Secrets of State, and they neglect nothing to penetrate into those Depths.

The Fluctuations in Exchange without any visible Cause, entice Numbers of People to search after it, and some of them find it at last to their Cost.

The Invention of Printing, which has put Books into the Hands of all the World; the Improvements in Engraving, which have made Geographic Charts so common; in a Word, the Establishment of political Papers, give every Individual a Knowledge of the general Interest, sufficient enough to instruct him in all the private Transactions.

Conspiracies in a State are now become very difficult, because since the Establishment of Posts, all the Secrets of particular Persons are in the Power of the Public.

Princes may act with Promptitude, because all the Power of the State is in their Possession. Conspirators must proceed with Caution, because they are destitute of Expedients; and since at present all Transactions are more easily discovered, those who form Designs against a Government are generally detected before they can adjust their Schemes.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Weakness of the Eastern Empire.

PHOCAS, amidst the general Confusion of Affairs being unsettled in his new Dignity, HERACLIUS came from Africa, and caus'd him to be murder'd; at the same time he found the Provinces invaded and the Legions destroyed.

As soon as this Prince had, in some measure, remedied these Disasters, the Arabians quitted their

own Country, to extend the Empire and Religion which MOHAMMED had founded by their Co-operation.

No People ever made so rapid a Progress; for they immediately conquer'd *Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Africa*, and then turn'd their Hostilities against the *Perians*.

God permitted his Religion to be laid low, in so many Places where it once had been predominant; not that it now ceas'd to be the Object of his providential Care, but because it always either in its State of Glory or Depression produces its natural Effect, which is the Sanctification of the Soul.

The Welfare of Religion has no Similitude to the Prosperity of Empires, and we are told by a celebrated Author, that it may well be distemper'd, since Malady it self is the true State of a Christian; to which we may add, that the Humiliations and Dispersion of the Church, the Destructions of her Temples, and the Persecutions of her Martyrs, are eminent Seasons of her Glory; but when she appears triumphant to the Eyes of the World, she is generally sinking in Adverlity.

We are not to have Recourse to Enthusiasm alone to clear up this memorable Event of the Arabian Conquests, which spread through so many Countries: The *Saracens* had been long distinguis'd among the Auxiliaries of *Rome* and *Persia*; and they, as well as the *Ostrojanians*, were the expertest Archers in the World. *Alexander, Severus* and *Maximin* had engag'd them as much as possible in their Service, and they were extremely useful in the Wars with the *Germans*, to whom their Arrows were fatal at a great Distance. The *Goths* themselves ^a, in the Reign of *Valens*, were incapable of resisting them: In a Word, they at that time were the best Cavalry in the World.

We have already observ'd, that the Legions rais'd in *Europe* were much preferable to those of *Asia*; but it was directly contrary with respect to the Cavalry; I mean that of the *Parthians*, the *Osroenians*, and the *Saracens*. This was the Power that stopp'd the full Career of the *Roman* Conquests, because, after the Death of *Antiochus*, a new Nation of *Tartars*, who had the best Cavalry of any People, made themselves Masters of the *Upper-Asia*.

This Cavalry was heavy^b, and that of *Europe* light, quite contrary to the present Nature of their militaty Equipage. *Holland* and *Friesland* were not as yet won from the Waters; and ^c *Germany* was full of Woods, Lakes and Marshes, where the Cavalry were of little Importance.

When a free Passage was open'd to the great Rivers, the stagnant Waters shrunk from those Marshes, and *Germany* assum'd a new Surface. Many Changes were effected by the Works of *Valentinian*^d on th: *Neckar*, and those of the *Romans* on the *Rhine*, and Commerce being once establish'd, those Countries which did not originally produce Horses^e, began to propagate the Breed, and the Inhabitants made great Use of those Animals.

Constantine^f, the Son of *Heraclius*, having been poison'd, and his Son *Constance* slain in *Sicily*, **CONSTANTINE** the Bearded, his eldest Son, suc-

^b See the Account given by *Zozimus* of the Cavalry of *Aurelian*, and that of *Palmyra*. See likewise what *Ammian Marcellinus* relates of the *Perſian* Cavalry.

^c The greatest part of that Country was then cover'd with Water, but the Art of Man has ſince made it habitable and commodious.

^d See *Ammian. Marcellin.* L. XXVII.

^e *Cæsar* represents the *German* Horses as too ſmall, and good for little.

^f *Zonaras's Life of Constantine the Bearded.*

ceded to the Empire, but that Grandees of the Eastern Provinces being assembled on this Occasion, were determined to crown the other Brothers of this Prince conjunctly with himself ; alledging, that as it was indispensably necessary for them to believe in the Trinity, so it was reasonable they should be govern'd by Three Emperors.

The Grecian History is crowded with Proceedings as extraordinary as this, and a low Turn of Mind being then the Characteristic of that Nation, their former Wisdom was no longer conspicuous in their Actions, and the Empire became a Scene of Troubles and Revolutions, to which it was impossible to assign any preparatory Motives.

An universal Bigotry had stupified and emasculated the whole Empire. *Constantinople* was the only Place in the East where Christianity was predominant, and likewise, where the pusillanimous Indolence, and degrading Softness of the *Asiatic* Nations, were blended with Devotion it self. Of a thousand Instances that might be alledg'd, I shall only mention the Conduct of *Philippicus* the General of *Maurice's* Army, who being on the point of charging the Enemy in the Field, burst into Tears ^g when he suddenly consider'd what Numbers of Mankind were then to be destroy'd.

The Tears of the *Arabians* ^h flow'd from a very different Source, when they wept with Regret that their General had agreed to a Truce which frustrated their intended Effusion of Christian Blood.

There is a total Difference between an Army of Fanatics, and another of Bigots ; and it evidently appear'd in a late memorable Revolution, in which *Cromwell's* Army resembled the *Arabians*, whilst the *Irish* and *Scotish* Forces were like the *Greeks*.

^g History of the Emperor *Maurice* by *Theophylact. L. II. c. 3.*

^h *Ockley's History of the Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, by the Saracens.* A

A gross Superstitionⁱ which debases the Mind as effectually as true Religion exalts it, had reduced all Vertue, and devout Confidence in the Deity, to a stupid Veneration for Images ; and History presents us with Generals who would raise a Siege,^k or surrender a City for^l the gallant Acquisition of a Relick.

Christianity degenerated under the Grecian Empire into as many Corruptions as were intermixed with it in our Time by the Muscovites, till the Czar Peter the first new modelled that Nation, and introduced more Changes into the Dominions he governed than are usually established in those which Conquerors usurp.

The East was on the point of being made the Scene of such a Revolution, as happened about two Centuries ago in the West, when, upon the Revival of Learning, the Abuses and Corruptions in Religion became evident to all, and as every Person was inquisitive after a proper Remedy, so there were some so bold and untractable as to rend the Church

ⁱ We may easily believe the Greeks were infected with Idolatry, for the Reason we shall now offer : There can be no Suspicion that the Italians and Germans were but coldly devoted to external Worship ; and yet when the Greek Historians take notice of the Contempt express'd by the Italians for Images and Relicks, one would be apt to compare them with the modern Zealots against Calvin. Nicetas informs us, that the Germans, in their March to the Holy Land, were receiv'd by the Armenians as Friends, because they did not offer any Adoration to Images. Now, if the Italians and Germans did not sufficiently reverence Images, in the Apprehension of the Greeks, what an enormous Veneration must then be paid to them by this People ?

^k Life of Lacapena by Zonarus.

^l Life of John Comnenus by Nicetas.

by Divisions, instead of restoring it to its original Purity by a due Reformation.

LEO ISAURUS, CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS and LEO his Son were implacable against Images, and when the Worship of them had been re-established by the Empress Irene, LEO the Armenian, MICHAEL the Stammerer and THEOPHILUS abolished them again. These Princes imagined they could not moderate that Worship unless they destroyed it effectually ; they likewise turned their Hostilities against the *Monks*^m who incommoded the State, and as their proceedings were always carried into Extreams, they endeavoured to exterminate that Fraternity instead of regulating them in a proper Manner.

The *Monks*ⁿ being accused of Idolatry by those who favoured the new Opinions, retorted, in their Turn, upon their Adversaries, and accused them of magical Practices,^o and then calling upon the People to behold the Churches, that were divested of Images, and the other Furniture, which, till that Time had been the Objects of Adoration, they created a Belief in their Flock, that these holy Places must certainly be profaned by daily Sacrifices to *Demons*.

The Controversy relating to Images, was connected with very delicate Circumstances which

^m Valens, many Years before this Event, made a Law to compel the *Monks* to serve the Government in the Army in Times of War, and caused all who disobeyed that Injunction, to be slain.

ⁿ These Circumstances relating to the *Monks*, cannot fix any criminal Imputation on their Order in General ; for it would be unjust to represent an Institution as pernicious because it may happen to be abused in some particular Countries and at certain Periods of Time.

^o Leo the Grammarians Lives of Leo the Armenian, and Theophilus. Suidas, under the Article of Constantine the Son Leo, kindled

kindled it into a raging Flame, and in the Event made Persons of solid Judgment incapable of proposing a moderate Worship. The Dispute included the tender Article of Power, and the Monks having seized it, in Consequence of their spiritual Usurpations, they could neither enlarge or maintain it but by making daily Additions to the Acts of external Adoration, wherein they were so considerably interested. For this Reason all Oppositions to the Establishment of Images were considered as so many Hostilities against themselves, and when they had succeeded in their Pretensions their Power was no longer limitable.

This Period was remarkable for such a Conjuncture as happened some Centuries afterwards in the warm Disagreement between *Barlaam* and the *Monks* of that Time, which brought the Empire to the Verge of Destruction. The Subject of the Dispute was whether the Light which encircled *Jesus Christ* on Mount *Tabor* was created or not. The Monks indeed were indifferent as to either Part of the Question in Debate, but as *Barlaam* made a direct Attack upon that Fraternity, they found it consistent with their Interest to assert that Light to be uncreated.

The War which those Emperors who were called *Iconoclasts*, declared against the *Monks*, revived some particular Principles of Government, and offered a plausible Pretence for employing the publick Revenue, for the publick Advantage, and for disengaging the State from every Inconvenience that encumbered it.

When I consider the profound Ignorance into which the *Grecian* Priests had plunged the Laity, it seems natural to compare the former to those *Scythians* mentioned by *Herodotus*, ^p who caused the

^p Lib. 4.

Eyes of their Slaves to be plucked out, that their Attention might not be diverted, when they were churning Milk for their Masters.

When the Empress *Theodora* had re-established the Use of Images, the *Monks* immediately began to corrupt the publick Devotion, and proceeded even to oppres the secular Clergy : They thrust themselves into every beneficial See, ^q and gradually excluded all Ecclesiastics from Episcopal Promotion. By this Proceeding they became unsupportable ; and if we draw a Parallel between them and the *Latin Clergy*, and compare the Conduct of our *Popes* with that of the *Patriarchs of Constantinople*, we shall see in our Pontiffs and Clergy, a Set of Men altogether as judicious as the others were irrational.

We are presented with a surprizing Contradiction in humane Nature, when we consider that the Ministers of Religion among the antient *Romans*, when they were not made incapable of public Employments and civil Society, were but little sollicitous about either ; and that after the Establishment of Christianity the Ecclesiasticks, who were most seclued from temporal Affairs, engaged in them with the greatest Moderation ; but when the *Monks*, in the Declension of the Empire, became the sole Clergy, these People who were forbidden by a more particular Profession, to intermeddle with the Transactions of State, embraced all Opportunities that could possibly introduce them into the Government, and never ceased to fill every Place with Confusion, and to discompose the World which they pretended to renounce.

There was not any Affair of the Empire, any particular Peace or War, any Truce or Negotiation, or any private Treaty of Marriage capable

^q *Vide Pachymer. I. 8.*

of Completion without the Ministrations of these *Monks*; they crowded into the Cabinets of Princes, and composed the greatest Part of the national Assemblies.

The Calamities which resulted from this irreligious Officiousness are inconceivable: These ecclesiastic Statesmen infused an indolent Insignificance into the Minds of Princes, and communicated a Taint of Imprudence to their best Actions. Whilst *Basilius* employed his naval Forces in erecting a Church to the Honour of St. *Michael*¹, he abandon'd Sicily to the Depredations of the Saracens, and suffered them to take Syracuse; but least he should be singular in that Proceeding, *Leo* his Successor, consigned his Fleet to the same Employment, and permitted the Barbarians to possess themselves of Tauromenia and the Island of Lemnos.

*Andronicus Palæologus*¹ entirely neglected his maritime Power, because he had been assured God was so well satisfied with his Zeal for the Church's Peace, that his Enemies would never presume to invade his Dominions by Sea. He was even apprehensive that the Deity would call him to a strict Account for the Time he devoted to the necessary Affairs of State, and deducted from spiritual Attentions.

The Greeks being very loquacious, great Disputants, and naturally inclinable to Sophistry, were perpetually incumbring Religion with controversial Points; and as the *Monks* were in great Reputation in a Court which was always weak in Proportion to its Corruption; that Court, and those *Monks* mutually communicated Infection to each other, in Consequence of which the Emperors devoted all

¹ See the Lives of *Basilius* and *Leo* by *Zonaras* and *Nicephorus*.

¹ *Pachymer.* l. 7.

their Thoughts, sometimes to calm, and frequently to inflame Theological Disputes, which were always observ'd to be most frivolous when they were debated with the greatest Warmth.

Michael Palæologus^t, whose Reign was so infested by Controversies in Religion, growing sensible of the melancholy Devastations committed by the Turks in *Asia*, said with a Sigh, that the rash Zeal of some Persons, who, by exclaiming against his Conduct had exasperated his Subjects against him, made it necessary for him to employ all his Cares to accomplish his own Preservation, and compelled him to be a tame Spectator of the Ruin of several Provinces. I contented my self, said he, with providing for the Security of those distant Parts, by the Ministrations of Governors, who being either corrupted by the Enemy, or apprehensive of Punishment, never acquainted me with the unhappy Situation of the People with whose Welfare they were intrusted.

The Patriarchs of *Constantinople* had assumed an unlimited Power, and as the Emperors and their Grandees generally retired to the Churches, when the People were spirited up to Insurrections, the Patriarchs had consequently an Opportunity of delivering them up to the popular Fury, and never failed to exercise this Power as they were directed by any particular Fancy, by which Means they always became the Arbiters of publick Affairs, tho' in a very indirect Manner.

When the Elder *Andronicus*^v caused the Patriarch to be admonished not to intermeddle with the Transactions of State, but to confine his Attention

^t *Pacymer.* l. 6. c. 29. We have had Recourse to the Translation of the President *Coufin*.

^v *Palæologus.* See the History of the two Emperors of this Name written by *Cantacuzenus*, l. 1. c. 50.

to spiritual Affairs, such a Request, replied that imperious Priest, is as if the Body should say to the Soul, I don't claim any Community with you, and have no Occasion for your Assistance in the Exercise of my Functions.

Such monstrous Pretensions became insupportable to Princes, and the *Patriarchs* were frequently divested of their Sees. But such a Proceeding, in a superstitious Nation, who detested all the Ecclesiastical Functions of a *Patriarch* whom they considered as an Intruder, produced continual Schisms, each particular *Patriarch*, the old, the new, and the last elected, being supported by his own Set of *Partisans*.

Such Contentions as these were much more pernicious than any Disagreements on Points of Doctrine, because they resembled an Hydra to whom every Defeat was a Renovation.

The Rage of Disputation became so natural to the Greeks, that *Cantacuzenus*, ^w when he took *Constantinople* found the Emperor *John* and his Empress engaged in a Council which had been summoned against some Adversaries of the *Monks*: And when *Mohammed* the second besieged that City ^x, the Emperor could not suppress the theological Animosities, and the Council of *Florence*^y engaged the general Attention much more than the *Turkish* Army.

^w *Cantacuzen*, l. 3. c. 99.

^x Hist. of the last *Palaeologi* by *Ducas*.

^y The Question in Debate was whether a Congregation who heard Mass from a Priest who had consented to pacific Measures, ought not to have fled from him as if he had been a destructive Flame: The great Church was accounted a profane Temple, and the Monk *Genadius* hurled his Anathema's against all who were desirous of Peace.

As every Person, in common Disputes, is sensible he may be deceived, a tenacious and untractable Spirit seldom prevails to any Extream, but in those Controversies where Religion is the Subject, for there, as every Person from the Nature of the Point in Debate becomes persuaded that his own Opinion is true, he grows exasperated against those who instead of concurring with his Sentiments, endeavour to make him a Convert to their own.

Those who may happen to read the History written by *Pachymerus*, will be effectually convinced of the unalterable Inability of Divines to accommodate their own Disagreements, and will see an Emperor ^z who spent his Days in assembling People of that Class listening to their Disputations and reproaching them for the Inflexibility of their Opinions: They will likewise behold another engaged with a Hydra of Controversies that were perpetually rising to new Life, and will be sensible that the same pacific Methods and persevering Patience, the same Inclination to finish their Contentions; in a Word, the same artless Pliancy to their Intrigues joined with the same Deference to their Averions will never reconcile these implacable Ecclesiastics while the World endures.

We shall present the Reader with a remarkable Instance of the Disposition we have been describing: The *Partisans* of the Patriarch *Arsenus*^a, were prevailed upon, by the Solicitations of the Emperor, to come into a Treaty with those who were in the Interest of the Patriarch *Joseph*. This Treaty specified that both Parties shou'd write down their several Pretensions, and then throw the two Papers which contained them into a Pan of live Coals, and if one of 'em should remain unconsumed,

^z *Andronicus Palæologus.*

^a *Pacymer.* l. 7.

they were then to acquiesce with that Determination from Heaven; but if both should happen to be burnt, the Parties were no longer to persist in their Demands. The Fire destroyed the two Papers, the Factions were reconciled, and the Peace continued for a Day. The next Morning they pretended that the Renunciation of their Claims ought to flow from an internal Persuasion, and not from Chance, and from that Moment the Contention was renewed with greater Animosity than ever.

The Disputes of Divines should always be considered with great Attention, but at the same Time this ought to be conceal'd as much as possible, because any visible Solicitude to calm the contending Parties never fails to credit their Singularities, and consequently tempts them to believe their Sentiments are of that Importance as to comprehend the Welfare of the State and the Security of the Sovereign.

It is altogether as impracticable to decide the Disagreements of Clergymen by attending to their affected Subtilties, as it would be to abolish Duels by erecting a Court, with a Delegation to trace a Point of Honour thro' all its Refinements.

Such was the Imprudence of the Greek Emperors, that when a religious Controversy had been lulled asleep by Time, they again awakened it in all its Rage. *Justinian, Heraclius, and Manuel Comnenus* proposed Articles of Faith to their Ecclesiastics and Laity, who would certainly have been deceived in the Truth tho' it had flowed from the Lips of those Princes in all its Purity. And as they were always defective in Forms, and generally in Essentials, and grew desirous of displaying their Penetration, which they might have manifested to more Advantage in other Affairs confided to their Judgment; they engaged on vain Disputes on the Nature of God, who, as he withdraws him-

himself from the proud Curiosity of the learned, so he vails the Majesty of his Existence as effectually from the great Men of the Earth.

'Tis an Error to believe any human Power can be absolute and infallible in these Respects, for such there never was, nor ever will be imparted to any mortal. The largest Extent of temporal Authority is confined to certain Limitations, and when the Grand Seignior ordains a new Taxation at *Constantinople*, the universal Murmurs of his Subjects make him sensible of those Restrictions of his Power which till then were concealed from his Observation. A *Persian* Monarch may indeed compel a Son to murder his Father, or oblige a Parent to plunge his Dagger into the Heart of his Child, but he can never force his Subjects to drink Wine. There is a general Principle in every Nation which is the invariable Basis of Power, and when once this Principle is too much loaded, it infallibly shrinks into smaller Dimensions.

An unacquaintedness with the true Nature and Limits of Ecclesiastical and Secular Power, was the most pernicious Source of all the Calamities that befel the *Greeks*, and involved both Priests and People in perpetual Errors.

This great Distinction, which constitutes all the Tranquillity of a Nation, is founded not only on Religion, but on Reason and Nature, which never confound Things really distinct in themselves, and which can only subsist in Consequence of that very Distinction.

Tho' the Priesthood among the antient *Romans* did not form a separate Body, yet the Distinction we have been representing, was as well known to them, as it can be to us. *Clodius* had consecrated the House of *Cicero* to the Goddess of Liberty, but when that great Orator returned from his Exile, he did not fail to demand it as his lawful Property:

The

The *Pontiffs* were of Opinion that if it had been so consecrated without any express Order obtained from the People, it might be restored to him without any Violation of Religion. They have declared says *Cicero*^b, that they only examined the Validity of the Consecration and not the Law enacted by the People, and that they had decided the first Article as *Pontiffs*, and the Second, in the Quality of Senators.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1st. *The Duration of the Eastern Empire accounted for.* 2d. *Its Destruction.*

After this Account of the *Grecian Empire*, it seems natural to enquire how it could possibly subsist so long, and I believe sufficient Reasons may be assigned for that Duration.

The *Arabians* having invaded the Empire and conquered several Provinces, their Chiefs became Competitors for the *Khalifat*, and the Flame of their first Zeal only burst out into civil Differents.

The same People having conquered *Persia* and afterwards divided and weakned themselves in that Country, the *Greeks* were no longer obliged to keep the principal Forces of the Empire stationed on the Banks of *Euphrates*.

Callinicus an Architect, who came from *Syria* to *Constantinople*, invented an artificial Flame, which was easily ventilated into a Point by means of a Tube, and was of such a peculiar Nature, that Water and every other Substance which extinguish common Fire did but increase the Violence of this. The *Greeks* were in Possession of it for several Years, and managed it in such a Manner as made it capable of firing their Enemies Ships, particularly the *Arabian Fleet* which sailed from

^b *Epist. ad Attic. I. 4.*

Africa

Africa or the Syrian Coasts to invade them even in *Constantinople*.

This Flame was ranked among the Secrets of State, and *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* in his Treatise on the Administration of the Empire, and which he dedicated to his Son *Romanus*, advises him to tell the *Barbarians*, when they should desire him to give them any of the *Grecian Fire*, that he was not permitted to part with it, because an Angel who presented it to the Emperor *Constantine*, commanded him to refuse it to all other Nations, and that those who had disobey'd that Injunction were consumed by a Fire from Heaven the Moment they entered into the Church.

Constantinople was the greatest, and almost the only City of Commerce in the World, for the *Goths* on the one Side, and the *Arabians* on the other, had ruin'd all manner of Traffick and Industry in every other Part. The Silken Manufactures were brought thither from *Perſia*, and were even neglected in that Country since the *Arabian Invasion*. We may add to this that the *Greeks* were Masters at Sea, which opened an immense Flow of Riches into the State, and proved an inexhaustible Source of Relief in all its Emergencies; and if at any Time there seemed to be any Declension of the public Affluence, it was immediately recruited by a new Acceſſion.

We shall justify this Observation by a remarkable Instance: The Elder *Andronicus Comnenus*, tho' he was the *Nero* of the *Greeks*, yet amidst all his Vices he was indefatigable in the Suppression of Injustice and Vexations in the Grandees, and it is a known Fact, that during the three Years of his Reign he restored several Provinces to their ancient Splendor.

In Fine, the *Barbarians* having once fixed their Settlement on the Banks of the *Danube*, were

no longer so formidable to the Empire as before, but rather became useful to him as a Barrier against other barbarous Nations. And thus whilst the Empire was harassed by any bad Government, some particular Incidents were always in Reserve for its Relief. Thus we see *Spain* and *Portugal* in a Condition, amidst all their Weakness, to support themselves with the Treasures of the *Indies*: The temporal Dominions of the *Pope* owe their Safety to the Respect paid to their Sovereign, and the Rovers of *Barbary* derive their Security from the Obstructions they fasten upon the Commerce of lesser Nations, and the very Piracies of these People on inferior States, make them serviceable in their turn to the Greater.

The *Turkish* Empire is at present in the same State of Declension to which that of the *Greeks* was formerly^c sunk, but in all Probability it will still be very durable; for shou'd any Prince endanger it by pursuing his own Conquests to an immoderate Extent, it will always be defended by the three trading Powers of *Europe*, who are too sensible of their own Interests ever to be unconcerned Spectators of its Fall.

It is happy for these trading Powers, that God has permitted *Turks* and *Spaniards* to be in the

^c They infest the Navigation of the *Italians* in the *Mediterranean*.

^d All Projects of this Nature against the *Turk*, and particularly such as have any Similitude to that which was formed in the Papacy of *Leo* the tenth, by which it was concerted that the Emperor should march to *Constantinople* through *Bosnia*; the King of *France* through *Albania* and *Greece*, whilst the maritime Powers were to embark at their several Ports; I say such Projects were never seriously intended, or were framed at least by those who were altogether unacquainted with the true Constitution of *Europe*.

World, for of all Nations they are the most proper to enjoy a great Empire with Insignificance.

In the Time of *Basilius Porphyrogenitus*, the *Arabian* Power came to its Period in *Perſia*. *Mohammed* the Son of *Sambrael*, who was then Sovereign of that Empire invited four thousand *Turks* from the North, in the Quality of Auxiliaries; but, upon a sudden Dissatisfaction conceived by this Prince, he sent an Army against them, which was soon put to flight by the *Turks*. *Mohammed*, in the Height of his Indignation against his Pusillanimous Soldiers, gave orders that they should pass before him habited like Women, but they disappointed his Anger and joined the *Turks*; upon which the united Army immediately dislodged a Garrison which were stationed to guard a Bridge over the *Araxes*, and opened a free Passage to a vast Body of their Countrymen.

When they had extended their Conquests through *Perſia*, they spread themselves from East to West over the Territories of the Empire, and *Romanus Diogenes*, who endeavour'd to oppose their Progress, became their Prisoner; after which they subdued all the *Aſiatic* Dominions of the *Greeks* down to the *Bosporus*.

Some time after this Event the *Latins* invaded the Western Regions, in the Reign of *Alexis Comnenus*. An unhappy Schism had for a long time infus'd an implacable Hatred between the Nations of two different Communions, and would have produced fatal Effects much sooner, had not the *Italians* been more attentive to check the *German* Emperors whom they fear'd, than they were to distress the *Greek* Emperors whom they only hated.

Affairs were in this Situation, when all *Europe* imbib'd a religious Belief, that the Place where *Jesus Christ* was born, as well as that where he accomplish'd his Passion, being profan'd by the Infidels,

dels, the surest Atonement they could make for their own Sins would be to dispossess those *Barbarians* of their Acquisitions by Force of Arms. *Europe* at that time swarm'd with People who were fond of War, and had many Crimes to expiate, and as they propos'd to obtain their Remission by indulging their prevailing Passion, every Man arm'd himself for the Crusade.

When this consecrated Army arriv'd in the East, they besieg'd and made themselves Masters of *Nice*, which they restor'd to the *Greeks*; and whilst the *Infidels* were seiz'd with a general Consternation, *Alexis* and *John Comnenus* chas'd the *Turks* to the Banks of *Euphrates*.

But as advantagious as these Crusades might be to the *Greeks*, the Emperors trembled to see such a Succession of fierce Heroes and formidable Armies marching thro' the Heart of their Dominions.

This induc'd them to leave nothing unattempted that might create a Dissatisfaction in *Europe* at these Expeditions; and the Votaries to the Cross, were continually ensnar'd by every Instance of Treachery that could possibly be expected from a timorous Enemy.

It must be acknowledg'd that the *French*, who promoted these Expeditions, had not practised any Conduct that could render their Presence very supportable; and we may judge by the Invectives of *Ann Comnenus* against our Nation, that we act without much Precaution in foreign Countries, and were at that time chargeable with the same exceptionable Freedoms we are reproach'd for at this Day.

A *French* Nobleman was going to seat himself upon the Emperor's Throne, but Earl *Baldwin* caught him by the Arm; You ought to know, said he, that when we are in any Country whatever, 'tis proper to comply with the Customs that prevail there. I think I am a compleat Country-

man

man, reply'd the other, to fit whilst so many Captains are standing.

The Germans, who came after the French, and were the most civil and undefining People in the World^f, suffer'd very severely for our Follies, and were continually embarrass'd with a Set of Dispositions that had been sufficiently irritated by our Countrymen against all Foreigners.

In fine, the Aversion of those Eastern People was work'd up to the highest Extream; and this with some Incivilities offer'd to the Venetian Merchants, operating upon the Ambition, Avarice and false Zeal of that Nation as well as the French, determined them to form a Crusade against the Greeks.

The united Army of these two European Nations found their Enemies altogether as pusillanimous and unwarlike as the Chinese appear'd to the Tatars in our Time. The Frenchmen ridicul'd their effeminate Habit^g, and walk'd through the Streets of Constantinople dress'd in flower'd Mantles, and carrying Pens and Paper in their Hands, in Derision to that Nation, who had degenerated from all military Discipline, and when the War was over, they refus'd to admit any Greeks into their Troops.

The Venetians and French soon after declar'd for the Western Empire, and transferr'd the Imperial Throne to the Earl of Flanders, whose Dominions being very distant, could not create any Jealousy in the Italians. The Greeks still supported themselves in the East, being separated from the Turks by a Chain of Mountains, and divided from the Italians by the Sea.

The Latins, who found no Obstacles in their Conquests, met with many in their Settlement.

^f History of Manuel Comnenus by Nicetas, L. I.

^g Nicet. History of the Eastern Transaction after the taking of Constantinople, C. III.

The Greeks return'd from *Afia* into *Europe*, retook *Constantinople*, and seized the greatest part of the West.

This new Empire however was but a faint Shadow of the Former, and had no solid Power for its Basis.

It comprehended few Territories in *Afia*, besides the Provinces on this side the *Meander* and *Sangar*, and most of those in *Europe* were parcel'd out into small Sovereignties.

We may add to this, that during the Sixty Years the *Latins* were possess'd of *Constantinople*, the conquer'd People being dispers'd and the Victors engag'd in War, all Commerce was transferr'd to the Cities in *Italy*, and *Constantinople* became divested of its Riches.

The Commerce even of the Inland Countries was carried on by the *Latins*. The *Greeks*^b, who were but newly re-establish'd, and were likewise alarm'd with innumerable Apprehensions, became desirous to ingratiate themselves with the *Genoese*, by granting them a Permission to traffick without paying any Duties; and as they were unwilling to irritate the *Venetians*, who had not accepted of Peace, but only consented to a Truce, these were likewise discharged from the same Payments.

Tho' *Manuel Comnenus* had suffer'd the Navigation of the Empire to decline before *Constantinople* was taken, yet it could be easily re-establish'd, since Commerce still subsisted; but when all maritime Affairs became entirely neglected under the new Empire, the Mischief grew remediless, because the Power of the Empire was daily declining.

This State, which extended its Dominion over many Islands, and was intersected by the Sea, which likewise surrounded several of its Territories, was

^a *Cartacuzen.* L. IV.

entirely

entirely unprovided of Ships. The former Communication no longer subsisted between the Provinces, the Inhabitants were oblig'd to shelter themselves in the Inland Parts from Pyrates, and when they thought themselves safe in such a Sanctuary, they soon found it necessary to retire into the Fortresses, to preserve themselves from the Hostilities of the *Turks*.

These Barbarous People were at that time engag'd in a peculiar War against the *Greeks*, and might properly be call'd Hunters of Men. They sometimes march'd two hundred Leagues into a Country to accomplish their Depredations; and as they were in Subjection to several Sultans,^k, it was impossible to purchase a Peace from every Tribe; and to procure it from any particular Parties, was altogether insignificant. These *Barbarians* had embraced *Mohammedism*, and their Zeal for that Religion strangely prompted them to ravage the Christian Territories: Besides, as they were the most unamiable People on Earth^l, and were mar-

ⁱ *Pachymer.* L. VII.

^k *Cantacuzen.* L. III. c. 96. *Pachymer.* L. XI. c. 9.

^l The Circumstance gave Birth to a Northern Tradition related by *Jornandes the Goth*, That *Philimer*, King of the *Goths*, having made an Inroad into the *Getic Territories*, found several Women who were Sorceresses, and drove them to a great Distance from his Army; after which those female Magicians wandered in the Desarts, where that Species of *Demons* call'd *Incubi*, consoled with them, and by their amorous Familiarities produc'd the Nation of the *Huns*. *Genus ferociissimum quod fuit primum inter paludes minutum teturum atque exile, nec aliud vocem notum, nisi que humani sermonis imaginem affignabat.* i. e. A fierce and savage People, who liv'd sequestred from the rest of Mankind, among Fens and Marshes, ghastly and haggard in their Persons, and whose Voices were only an imperfect Articulation of human Speech.

ried to Wives as disagreeable as themselves, the Moment they were acquainted with the Grecian Women, all the rest of that Sex became insupportable to them, and those beauteous Females were continually expos'd to the brutal Passion of these *Barbarians*^m. In fine, they had been always accustom'd to invade the Properties of other People, and were the same *Huns* who had formerly involv'd the *Roman Empire* in so many Calamities.

The *Turks* broke in like a Deluge upon the shatter'd Remains of the *Grecian Empire* in *Asia*, and those of the Inhabitants who were happy enough to escape their Fury, fled before them to the *Bosphorus*, from whence such as could accommodate themselves with Ships, sail'd to those Parts of the Empire that were situated in *Europe*, which occasion'd a considerable Addition to the Number of the Inhabitants, tho' they were diminish'd in a short Period of Time: For Civil Wars began to rage with so much Fatality, that the Two Factions invited several *Turkish Sultans* to their Assistanceⁿ, with this extravagant and inhuman Stipulation, that all the People of the Country, who were made Captives from the opposite Party, should be carried into Slavery; by which Means each of those Factions concurr'd in the Destruction of their own Country with a View of ruining their Adversaries.

Bajazet having conquer'd all the other Sultans, the *Turks* would then have acted agreeably to their

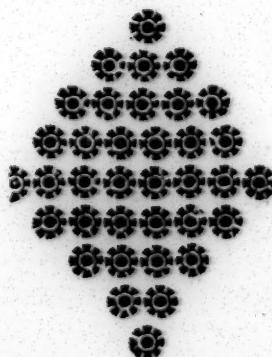
^m Michael Ducas's Hist. of *John Manuel, John and Constantine, c. b. Constantine Porphyrogenitus* observes, at the Beginning of his Extract of the Embassies, that when the *Barbarians* came to *Constantinople*; the *Romans* ought to have been very cautious of shewing them the Grandeur of their Riches, and the Beauty of their Wives.

ⁿ See the History of the Emperors *John Palæologus* and *John Cantacuzenus*, written by *Cantacuzenus*.

future Behaviour in the Reign of *Mohammed II.* had not they been in danger of Extermination by the *Tartars*.

I am now afraid to describe the Miseries which resulted from these Revolutions, and shall only intimate, that the Empire under its last Monarchs, being contracted within the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, finish'd its Progress like the *Rhine*, which shrinks into a Rivulet before it loses it self in the Ocean.

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